





Archæologia Cantiana.

"ANTIQUITATES SEU HISTORIARUM RELIQUÆ SUNT TANQUAM TABULÆ NAUFRAGII; CUM, DEFICIENTE ET FERE SUBMERSA RERUM MEMORIA, NIHILOMINUS HOMINES INDUSTRII ET SAGACES, PERTINACI QUADAM ET SCRUPULOSA DILIGENTIA. EX GENEALOGIIS, FASTIS, TITULIS, MONUMENTIS, NUMISMATIBUS, NOMINIBUS PROPRIIS ET STYLIS, VERBORUM ETYMOLOGIIS, PROVERBIIS, TRADITIONIBUS, ARCHIVIS, ET INSTRUMENTIS, TAM PUBLICIS QUAM PRIVATIS, HISTORIARUM FRAGMENTIS, LIBRORUM NEUTIQUEAM HISTORICORUM LOCIS DISPERSIS,—EX HIS, INQUAM, OMNIBUS VEL ALIQUIBUS, NONNULLA A TEMPORIS DILUVIO ERIPIUNT ET CONSERVANT. RES SANE OPEROSA, SED MORTALIBUS GRATA ET CUM REVERENTIA QUADAM CONJUNCTA."

"ANTIQUITIES, OR REMNANTS OF HISTORY, ARE, AS WAS SAID, TANQUAM TABULÆ NAUFRAGII; WHEN INDUSTRIOUS PERSONS, BY AN EXACT AND SCRUPULOUS DILIGENCE AND OBSERVATION, OUT OF MONUMENTS, NAMES, WORDS, PROVERBS, TRADITIONS, PRIVATE RECORDS AND EVIDENCES, FRAGMENTS OF STORIES, PASSAGES OF BOOKS THAT CONCERN NOT STORY, AND THE LIKE, DO SAVE AND RECOVER SOMEWHAT FROM THE DELUGE OF TIME."—*Advancement of Learning*, ii.

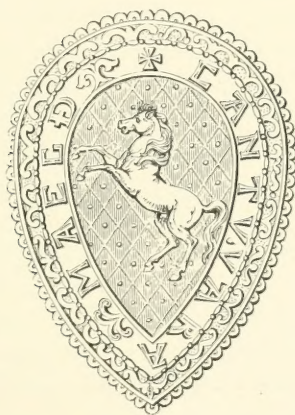
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*The Council of the Kent Archæological Society is not answerable
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 R. Societa Romana di Storia Patria, *Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Roma.*

Rules of the Kent Archaeological Society.

1. The Society shall consist of Ordinary Members and Honorary Members.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council consisting of the President of the Society, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and twenty-four Members elected out of the general body of the Subscribers: one-fourth of the latter shall go out annually in rotation, but shall nevertheless be re-eligible; and such retiring and the new election shall take place at the Annual General Meeting: but any intermediate vacancy, by death or retirement, among the elected Council, shall be filled up either at the General Meeting or at the next Council Meeting, whichever shall first happen. Five Members of the Council to constitute a quorum.

3. The Council shall meet to transact the business of the Society on the second Thursday in the months of March, June, September, and December, and at any other time that the Secretary may deem it expedient to call them together. The June Meeting shall always be held in London; those of March, September, and December at Canterbury and Maidstone alternately. But the Council shall have power, if it shall deem it advisable, at the instance of the President, to hold its Meetings at other places within the county; and to alter the days of Meeting, or to omit a Quarterly Meeting if it shall be found convenient.

4. At every Meeting of the Society or Council, the President, or, in his absence, the Chairman, shall have a casting vote, independently of his vote as a Member.

5. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually, in July, August, or September, at some place rendered interesting by its antiquities or historical associations, in the eastern and western divisions of the county alternately, unless the Council, for some cause to be by them assigned, agree to vary this arrangement; the day and place of meeting to be appointed by the Council, who shall have the power, at the instance of the President, to elect some Member of the Society connected with the district in which the meeting shall be held, to act as Chairman of such Meeting. At the said General Meeting, antiquities shall be exhibited, and papers read on subjects of archaeological interest. The accounts of the Society, having been previously allowed by the Auditors, shall be presented; the Council, through the Secretary, shall make a Report on the state of the Society; and the Auditors and the six new Members of the Council for the ensuing year shall be elected.

6. The Annual General Meeting shall have power to make such alterations in the Rules as the majority of Members present may approve: provided that notice of any contemplated alterations be given, in writing, to the Honorary Secretary, before June the 1st in the then current year, to be laid by him before the Council at their next Meeting; provided, also, that the said contemplated alterations be specifically set out in the notices summoning the Meeting, at least one month before the day appointed for it.

7. A Special General Meeting may be summoned, on the written requisition of seven Members, or of the President, or two Vice-Presidents, which must specify the subject intended to be brought forward at such Meeting; and such subject alone can then be considered.

8. Candidates for admission must be proposed by one Member of the Society, and seconded by another, and be balloted for, if required, at any Meeting of the Council, or at a General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude.

9. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings, due in advance on the 1st of January in each year; or £6 may at any time be paid in lieu of future subscriptions, as a composition for life. Any Ordinary Member shall pay, on election, an entrance fee of Ten Shillings, in addition to his Subscription, whether Annual or Life. Every Member shall be entitled to a copy of the Society's Publications; but none will be issued to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear. The Council may remove from the List of Subscribers the name of any Member whose Subscription is two years in arrear, if it be certified to them that a written application for payment has been made by one of the Secretaries, and not attended to within a month from the time of application.

10. All Subscriptions and Donations are to be paid to the Bankers of the Society, or to one of the Secretaries.

11. All Life Compositions shall be vested in Government Securities, in the names of four Trustees, to be elected by the Council. The interest only of such funds to be used for the ordinary purposes of the Society.

12. No cheque shall be drawn except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two Members of the Council and the Honorary Secretary.

13. The President and Secretary, on any vacancy, shall be elected by a General Meeting of the Subscribers.

14. Members of either House of Parliament, who are landed proprietors of the county or residents therein, shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and with them such other persons as the Society may elect to that office.

15. The Council shall have power to elect, without ballot, on the nomination of two Members, any lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

16. The Council shall have power to appoint as Honorary Member any person likely to promote the interests of the Society. Such Honorary Member not to pay any subscription, and not to have the right of voting at any Meetings of the Society; but to have all the other privileges of Members.

17. The Council shall have power to appoint any Member Honorary Local Secretary for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest, and for the receipt of subscriptions.

18. Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

19. The Society shall avoid all subjects of religious or political controversy.

20. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the Members at the General Meetings.

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 Wooder, W. W., Esq., Bank Villa, Archway Road, Upper Holloway, N.
 Woodford, Mrs. H. P., The Grove, Gravesend.
 Woodgate, Rev. R., M.A., Pembury, Tunbridge Wells.
 *Woodhouse, Rev. R. J., M.A., Merstham Rectory, Surrey.
 *Woodruff, Rev. C. E., M.A., Otterden Rectory, Faversham.
 Woodruff, C. H., Esq., F.S.A., 4 Westcliff Terrace, St. Lawrence, Kent.
 Woods, Sir Albert, C.B., K.C.M.G., Garter King at Arms, College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
 Woolf, M. Yeatman, Esq., 1 Marlborough Place, St. John's Wood, N.W.
 Woollett, Capt. W. C., 8 Rutland Gardens, Blackheath, S.E.
 Worger, Miss Louisa, North Street, Ashford.
 Worsfold, E. M., Esq., Dover.
 *Wright, Charles E. L., Esq., Heathwood Lodge, Bexley, Kent.
 Wright, Rev. Charles H., M.A., Keston Rectory, Hayes, Kent.
 Wyndham, G., Esq., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W.
 Youens, E. C., Esq., 17 Tower Road, Dartford.

* * Should any errors, omissions of honorary distinctions, etc., be found in this List, it is requested that notice thereof may be given to the Secretary, GEORGE PAYNE, Esq., The Precinct, Rochester.

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

ILLUSTRATION FUND.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Akers-Douglas, Right Hon. A., M.P.	1	10	0
Clifford, Jas., Esq.	0	11	0
Cranbrook, Viscount	0	10	0
Hughes, W. E., Esq.	0	10	0
Mercer, Samuel, Esq.	0	10	0
Northbourne, Lord	0	10	0
Sands, H., Esq.	0	10	0
Wadmore, J. F., Esq.	1	0	0

KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL

Dr.

Cash Account from the 1st of

1887.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1. Balance at Bankers:—			
Wigan, Mercer, and Co.	£361	17	4
Hammond and Co.	337	2	4
			<hr/> 698 19 8
Invoices Kent and Society's 2½ per Cent. Stock		33	3 6
Sale of the Society's Publications		5	15 8

Subscriptions through the following Local Secretaries and Bankers:—

W. E. Hughes, Esq. (<i>London</i>)	£105	13	6
W. T. Nave, Esq. (<i>Cranebrook</i>)	12	0	0
K. W. Wilkie, Esq. (<i>Reimsgate</i>)	13	0	0
Miss Doolley (<i>Maidling</i>)	9	0	6
W. N. Craker, Esq. (<i>Bromley</i>)	15	15	10
G. Wilks, Esq. (<i>Hythe</i>)	10	0	0
J. F. Wadhams, Esq. (<i>Tonbridge</i>)	4	0	0
G. E. Carnell, Esq. (<i>Sevenoaks</i>)	18	3	6
W. J. Mercer, Esq. (<i>Margate</i>).....	12	15	3
J. D. Norwood, Esq. (<i>Ashford</i>)	17	5	0
G. E. Elliott, Esq. (<i>Sittingbourne</i>).....	13	0	0
C. W. Powell, Esq. (<i>Speldhurst</i>)	13	10	0
W. H. Burch Risher, Esq. (<i>Walmer</i>).....	6	0	0
F. E. Girard, Esq. (<i>Faversham</i>)	7	16	0
G. Payne, Esq. (<i>Rochester</i>)	6	10	0
G. M. Arnold, Esq. (<i>Gravesend</i>)	13	0	0
H. Stringer, Esq. (<i>New Romney</i>)	7	10	0
Dr. Bovey (<i>Maidstone</i>)	20	17	0
R. Holt-White, Esq. (<i>Dartford</i>)	9	0	0
E. W. Fry, Esq. (<i>Dover</i>)	10	0	0
The Bankers:—Wigan and Co.	39	1	0
Hammond and Co.	37	0	6
			<hr/> 400 18 1

£1138 16 11

SOCIETY.

January to the 31st of December, 1897.

Cr.

1897.	£	s.	d.
Cheques drawn December 29th, 1896 :—			
C. F. Kell, Lithographer	£4	4	0
Pipe Roll Society, Subscription	1	1	0
		5	5
Mitchell and Hughes, balance of Vol. XXII.	97	17	5
Ditto Printing, Stationery, Cards, Postage of Circulars, etc.	11	13	8
C. F. Kell, Lithographer	45	5	0
Purchase of Consols	26	0	0
Rent of Rooms	20	0	0
Chief Curator's Grant, 4 quarters	50	0	0
J. Lower, Porter's Fee, 4 quarters	6	12	0
W. T. Wildish, Printing, etc.	1	12	6
W. Keeley, Binding	1	9	0
Insurance, Kent Fire Office	2	5	0
R. Nevill, 900 copies of Index of Archæological Papers	5	12	6
Rev. J. M. Cowper, Memorial Inscriptions, Canterbury Cathedral...	3	3	0
Canon Routledge, Editorial Expenses	4	2	0
G. Payne, Grant towards Researches	5	0	0
Cheque Book	0	2	6
Petty Cash, and balance of £7 11s. 0d. from 1896	10	0	0
Includes Journeys and Horse-hire, Sevenoaks, Ightham, etc.....	£2	2	0
Stamps for year, as per Account	2	10	3
Expenses, Council Meetings	0	19	7
Sundries	1	8	6
Balance	10	10	8
	£17	11	0
Dec. 31. Balance at Bankers :—			
Wigan, Mercer, and Co.	£461	7	11
Hammond and Co.	381	9	5
		842	17
		4	
	£1138	16	11

We have Examined the Accounts for the Year 1897, compared them with the Vouchers and Pass Books, and find them to be correct.

November 15th, 1898.

HERBERT HORDERN, }
CHAS. F. HOOPER, } *Auditors.*

The
Kent Archaeological Society.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1897—1898.

THE Council met in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury, by permission of the Dean and Chapter, on the 29th of December 1896. Eleven members were present, presided over by Canon W. A. Scott Robertson.

It was resolved that during the Annual Meeting, to be held at Sevenoaks in 1898, the following places should be visited: Knole, Chevening, Ightham, and Kemsing.

A letter was read from the noble President, in which he kindly intimated that he would be pleased to receive the Society at Chevening.

W. A. Lochee, Esq., and the Rev. F. C. Timin were duly elected to Membership.

The Council met on the 29th of March 1897 in the Society's Rooms at Maidstone. Nine members were present, J. F. Wadmore, Esq., occupying the Chair.

Before proceeding with the business of the Meeting the Chairman referred to the great loss the Society had sustained by the death of Canon W. A. Scott Robertson, who was for so many years its Honorary Secretary and Editor. A vote of sympathy with Mrs. Scott Robertson in her sad bereavement was then unanimously passed, and the Honorary Secretary was requested to forward the same to her, accompanied by the Council's deep regret at having lost so valuable and able a colleague.

Mr. George Payne brought forward the subject of the protection of Historic Monuments and Ancient Houses in Kent, at the same time calling attention to the fact that there was nothing to prevent many of them being either destroyed, defaced, or denuded of all

their most interesting features. Mr. Payne, while taking into consideration that every one could do what he liked with his own, thought that occasionally very important examples of architecture (domestic and otherwise) might be saved if owners of such were made acquainted with their historic value. He suggested that, as a preliminary step, a schedule might be made of the houses and buildings in the county worthy of preservation. After a lengthy discussion it was agreed that the Local Secretaries be requested to co-operate in the matter.

A vote of thanks was passed to Clement Tate, Esq., for the gift of two Photographs of the foundations of the Roman Pharos at Dover, known as the "Bredenstone;" and also to F. W. Prescott, Esq., for kindly offering to defray the cost of framing them, and of reproducing them for *Archæologia Cantiana*.

A letter was read from W. J. Nichols, Esq., resigning the Local Secretaryship of the Bromley district in consequence of the serious state of his health. The Council heard this with much regret, as Mr. Nichols had been a most active Local Secretary for many years. A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to him for his valuable services.

T. N. Crafer, Esq., was duly elected to the vacant office on the recommendation of Mr. Nichols and the Honorary Secretary.

Instructions were given for the investment of four Life Compositions, amounting to £26.

J. T. Welldon, Esq., E. J. Hawkes, Esq., L.R.C.P., Alderman Horatio D. Davies, M.P., and W. B. Prosser, Esq., were duly elected to Membership.

The Council met on the 30th June at the house of the noble President in Grosvenor Place. The Earl Stanhope presided, and there were nine members present.

The following letter from Mrs. Scott Robertson was read, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

CANTERBURY,

April 18th, 1897.

DEAR MR. PAYSE,

Will you be so kind as to convey to the Council of the Kent Archaeological Society my grateful thanks for its kind sympathy with me in my present trouble.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

MARY J. ROBERTSON.

The Programme of the Annual Meeting, to be held at Sevenoaks, was read and approved.

A letter was read from the Mayor of Maidstone asking for a Donation towards the extension of the Museum of that Borough. Instructions were given to reply that the Council did not see its way to establish a precedent by subscribing to the fund.

The following were duly elected to Membership: Rev. T. Harrison, The Earl of Darnley, A. Laurie, Esq., A. D. Hall, Esq., R. Gordon, Esq., Miss E. Noakes, E. S. M. Perowne, Esq., Captain Alured Denne, R.A., T. Butler Cato, Esq., Miss L. T. Bloxham, R. M. Mercer, Esq., A. G. Boscawen, Esq., M.P., Dr. G. T. Abbott, Rev. W. H. Churchill, Rev. Canon S. Joy, Rev. Townsend W. Mylne, Rev. A. H. Powell, LL.D., Rev. S. Egerton Phillips.

The Annual Meeting was commenced at Sevenoaks on Tuesday, the 27th of July 1897. The Business Meeting took place in the Hall of the Conservative Club, by kindly permission of the Directors of the Club Hall Company. The Earl Stanhope presided. The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report as follows:—

REPORT.

The Council presents to-day its Fortieth Annual Report with much gratification, as the Society still maintains its high standard of excellence, while its valuable transactions are still highly treasured by all who possess them. This is the third occasion on which the Society has visited Sevenoaks, the first being in 1871 and the second in 1884. Each time there was a change of programme, and that drawn up for our Meeting this year the Council hope will prove of exceptional interest to the members. Since the last Annual Meeting we have lost several valued members by death and other causes. Of these two must be especially mentioned, namely, Canon W. A. Scott Robertson and Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, K.C.B. It is a singular but sad coincidence that when the Society met at Sevenoaks twenty-six years ago the former was elected Joint Secretary with the late Mr. T. G. Godfrey Faussett, and now we are called upon to deplore his lamented death, which occurred during the present year.

Mr. Scott Robertson's eminent services to the Society are fresh in the memory of us all, and have been frequently alluded to since his retirement from the Secretariat in 1889.

His indefatigable labours in the Society's behalf will be especially dealt with in the next Volume of our *Archæologia*, but mere words cannot possibly convey an adequate expression of the value of his long and devoted services. In him we have lost a firm friend, a brilliant Archæologist, and a Prince of Guides.

By the death of Sir Wollaston Franks, who was for many years an Honorary Member of the Society, archæology has sustained an irreparable loss. His profound knowledge of ancient art brought him into close contact with men

from all parts of the world, who constantly sought the opinion of the great master. Of the wealth of his mind he gave freely to every one who asked, and to the British Museum, to whom he was a munificent donor, he devoted his whole life.

Although our ranks are being continually thinned, it is satisfactory to find that the gaps are speedily filled. Since the last Annual Meeting thirty-four new members have been elected, while twenty candidates await election at your hands to-day. The finances of the Society are in their usual healthy state, the balance at our Bankers at this moment being £743 15s. 9d. Since we last met a new Volume of our *Archæologia* has been issued, and another is in course of preparation.

We have no new startling archæological discoveries to announce, but several of minor importance have been made during the past twelve months in the neighbourhood of Rochester, all of which will be recorded in the next Volume. You will be pleased to learn that the Council is now considering the important question as to what steps can be taken towards ensuring the preservation of ancient and historic houses in Kent which might possibly be threatened with destruction.

With this object in view, the Honorary Local Secretaries will shortly be asked to kindly furnish a list of the houses of exceptional interest in their respective localities that are worthy of preservation. Every one will hear with pleasure that one fine old house at least has been rescued, namely, Eastgate House at Rochester. This has recently been purchased by the Corporation of that City for the purpose of a Public Library and Museum in commemoration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

The Rev. J. Cave-Browne moved and Dr. C. Cotton seconded the first resolution, which was carried unanimously, "That the Report as read be adopted."

It was moved by the Rev. J. A. Boodle, seconded by R. Hoven-den, Esq., and carried unanimously, "That Herbert Hordern, Esq., and Captain C. F. Hooper, the retiring Auditors, be re-elected for the ensuing year."

It was moved by W. H. Burch Roshier, Esq., seconded by R. Cooke, Esq., and carried unanimously, "That the six retiring Members of Council be re-elected."

The following were then duly elected to Membership: G. C. Solly, Esq., Rev. Jas. White, H. Wilson, Esq., C. Essenhigh Corke, Esq., Gibson Thompson, Esq., Lieut.-General Wentworth Forbes, E. Evans Cronk, Esq., D. M. Birkett, Esq., Rev. R. E. Spencer, F. Hudson, Esq., F. A. Forbes, Esq., J. D. Laurie, Esq., Harman Keble, Esq., R. Dalby Reeve, Esq., F. Stanley, Esq., R. Wyndham Vaughan, Esq., Mrs. Lowndes, Miss Lansdell, and T. Fisher, Esq.

With thanks to the noble President for presiding the Business Meeting terminated.

The company then proceeded to the Parish Church, where, in the unavoidable absence of the Rector (the Rev. T. S. Curteis), a

hearty welcome was accorded the members by A. Laurie, Esq., one of the Churchwardens. A Paper was then read on the History of the Church by the Rev. E. A. Brown (Senior Curate) for the Rector.

After inspecting the Church an adjournment was made to the "Royal Crown Hotel" for luncheon. Early in the afternoon progress was made to Knole, the famous seat of Lord Sackville, G.C.M.G., which his Lordship kindly allowed the visitors to inspect free of charge. Fearing for the safety of the floors of the mansion, Lord Sackville deemed it necessary that only fifty should be admitted at one time into the building. When the company, which numbered upwards of four hundred ladies and gentlemen, had assembled in the Stone Court, Philip Norman, Esq., F.S.A., Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, read a Paper descriptive of the house and the historic treasures it contains. On its conclusion the small parties were counted out, and a move made to pass through the state rooms. In course of time the whole of the vast company found their way into Knole, and greatly appreciated the opportunity thus afforded them of viewing the magnificent apartments and their priceless contents. At a late hour progress was made to Chevening Place, the seat of the noble President, where his Lordship and the Countess Stanhope cordially received their numerous guests upon the lawn, and at once hospitably invited them to partake of afternoon tea, which was served in a large marquee by the margin of a beautiful lake, the Sevenoaks Town Band meanwhile playing a selection of music. Lord Stanhope subsequently very courteously conducted as many as it was possible, in the short time available, over the house, which contains a fine collection of ancient and modern weapons of war, paintings, etc. Much interest was also taken in the famous library of seventeen thousand volumes, which occupy five large rooms. Before leaving Mr. Swaffield called for a hearty vote of thanks to the Earl and Countess for their hospitality and kindness, which was enthusiastically accorded.

On returning to Sevenoaks, about a hundred remained for the Annual Dinner, which took place at the "Royal Crown Hotel." The noble President occupied the Chair, being supported by Mr. and Mrs. Burch Rosher, Lieut.-General Wentworth Forbes, Mr. Lowndes, Mr. G. F. Carnell, the Honorary Secretary, and Mrs. George Payne. After dinner the usual loyal and other toasts were proposed or responded to by the Earl Stanhope, Mr. Carnell, Mr. Burch Rosher, and Mr. George Payne. The Evening Meeting was subsequently held in the Club Hall, when Mr. W. J. Lewis Abbott, F.G.S., gave a fine display by lime-light illustrative of

"What Kent has done for Pre-historic Anthropology." Mr. G. F. Cernall (Local Secretary) followed with an interesting Paper entitled "Old Sevenoaks." The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to those gentlemen on the proposition of Earl Stanhope, who presided.

On Wednesday the 28th of July upwards of two hundred participated in the proceedings of the day. Kensing Church was first visited, under the guidance of the Rector, the Rev. T. C. Skarratt, M.A., the chief feature of interest in it being the fourteenth-century rood screen, which has recently undergone restoration. In the south window of the chancel is a representation of the Virgin and Holy Child, *tempo* Richard I.

After thanks had been given to Mr. Skarratt the party left for Yaldham Manor, to which the Society had been invited by Major-General Goldsworthy, M.P., and Mrs. Goldsworthy. Mr. George Payne read in the old hall a short Paper on the "History of the Manor," after which Mrs. Goldsworthy personally conducted the members through the rooms of the interesting house, and also kindly offered light refreshment. Before leaving Mr. Payne asked the company to testify thanks to General and Mrs. Goldsworthy by a round of applause, which was very heartily responded to.

Progress was then made to Ightham for luncheon, after which Ightham Mote was visited, by kindly permission of T. Colyer Fergusson, Esq., who, with Mrs. Colyer Fergusson, came over from their residence, Wombwell Hall near Gravesend, expressly to receive the Society. After they had shewn the members over every part of the ancient house, J. Oldrid Scott, Esq., F.S.A., read a Paper on its history in the quadrangle. Before leaving Canon Murray proposed a vote of thanks to the courteous owner for his kindness in permitting the Society to inspect his beautiful seat. This was carried by acclamation, and gracefully acknowledged by Mr. Colyer Fergusson. Very cordial thanks were also given to Mr. Oldrid Scott for his interesting Paper.

The company then proceeded to Ivy Hatch, the charming residence of C. G. Hale, Esq., to which they had been invited to partake of afternoon tea. The genial owner received the party upon the lawn, and he and his daughter were most assiduous in hospitable attention to their numerous guests. During the pleasant hour spent here a close inspection was made of a large collection of flint implements which had been found by Mr. Benjamin Harrison in the locality, and which were spread out upon tables for the occasion.

Mr. Hale also exhibited for comparison a fine series of flint and stone weapons from Scandinavia and Denmark. The former gentleman read a Paper on his discoveries, drawing especial attention to the implements of "plateau" type, with which his name has become so closely identified. The Rev. A. J. Pearman subsequently proposed a vote of thanks to him for his Paper, and to Mr. Hale for his kindness and unbounded hospitality, which was enthusiastically accorded. The latter briefly responded in the kindest terms. The party returned by a gloriously picturesque route to Sevenoaks, thus bringing to a close the Annual Meeting of 1897.

The Council met on the 30th of September in the Society's Rooms at Maidstone. Seven members were present, presided over by J. F. Wadmore, Esq.

After due discussion it was resolved to hold the next Annual Meeting at Deal.

A letter was read from the Mayor of Maidstone asking the Council for a donation towards the purchase for the Maidstone Museum of the important collection of Flint Implements formed by Mr. Benjamin Harrison of Ightham. After an inspection had been made of a portion of the collection on view in the Museum, the Council unanimously came to the conclusion that it was desirable to retain the collection in its entirety in the county if possible. It was finally agreed upon that a grant of twenty-five pounds be made towards the object on condition that the purchase include the entire series of implements gathered together by Mr. Harrison.

The following votes of thanks in connection with the Sevenoaks Meeting were accorded:—To the Club Hall Company for the free use of its Hall on the 27th of July; to Lord Sackville for courteously allowing the Society to inspect Knole; to the Reverends T. S. Curteis, E. A. Brown, and T. C. Skarratt for much valuable help; to the Earl and Countess Stanhope for their great courtesy and kindly hospitality at Chevening; to Messrs. Philip Norman, Lewis Abbott, J. Oldrid Scott, and G. F. Carnell for contributing Papers; to Mr. and Mrs. Colyer Fergusson for their kindness and co-operation at Ightham Mote; to Mr. C. G. Hale for his cordial reception and hospitality at Ivy Hatch; to Major-General and Mrs. Goldsworthy for their kindness and hospitality at Yaldham Manor; to Mr. Benjamin Harrison for his exhibition of Flint Implements, his Paper on their discovery, and other valuable assistance; to Mr. G. F. Carnell

and Mr. Cyril Carnell for issuing the tickets and kindly co-operation generally; to the Rev. W. Gardner-Waterman for kindly superintending the carriage arrangements on both days of the Meeting; to Mr. Potter for help in arranging the Club Hall for the various Meetings; and to Mr. Laurie for kindly co-operation.

Votes of thanks were passed to Sir John Evans, K.C.B., etc., for the gift to the Library of his new edition of *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, and also to Mr. E. C. Youens for a set of excellent Photographs of the various places visited during the Sevenoaks Meeting.

The following new members were elected: C. Henman, Esq., J. Shawyer, Esq., L. O. Bagleton, Esq., W. Mascoolyn, Esq., Miss F. E. Seale, J. E. G. de Montmorency, Esq., LL.B., the Rev. R. Woodgate, and the Honourable A. Bligh.

On the recommendation of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. E. C. Youens, of 17 Tower Road, Dartford, was appointed Honorary Photographer to the Society.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Samuel Mercer, Esq., for his liberality in defraying the cost of alterations to the fire-place, and backing it with Dutch tiles, in the Society's Rooms at Maidstone.

The Council met on the 29th of December 1897 in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, by permission of the Dean and Chapter. Nine members were present, presided over by Canon C. F. Routledge.

The routes to be taken during the Annual Meeting, to be held at Deal in 1898, were discussed and agreed to, subject to their being found practicable.

The following were duly elected to Membership: Mrs. E. F. Richards, T. H. Duffield, Esq., George Patrick, Esq., the Folkestone Public Library.

The Council met on the 31st of March 1898 in the Society's Rooms at Maidstone. There were seven members present, presided over by Samuel Mercer, Esq.

The date of the Annual Meeting, to be held at Deal, was fixed for the 27th and 28th of July.

A letter was read from T. N. Crafer, Esq., resigning the office of Honorary Local Secretary for the Bromley district, as he was leaving the county. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Crafer for his past services.

Mr. Burch Rosher, the Society's representative on the Fordwich Trust, reported that at the last Meeting of the Trustees the question again came before them of repairing the ancient Court Hall at Fordwich. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings had already advised the Trustees as to what was necessary to be done to the building, and the manner in which the work should be carried out. Mr. Burch Rosher stated that he had requested the Trustees to take no steps in the matter until he had consulted the Council of the Kent Archaeological Society. After considerable discussion it was resolved, "That Mr. Burch Rosher, Mr. George Payne, and a Builder pay a visit to Fordwich and examine into the condition of the Court Hall, and report thereon at the meeting of the Council." Mr. Burch Rosher expressed a hope that the Council would make a grant towards the work of reparation, if necessary, when taken in hand, to which those present seemed favourable.

Mr. George Payne submitted the draft of a circular letter and form, to be sent to the Local Secretaries in connection with his scheme for obtaining a list of all the ancient monuments and the principal houses of historic or architectural interest remaining in the county, which was brought before the Council in March last. After a long and interesting discussion it was agreed that the following letter, together with the annexed form, should be printed and submitted for approval at the next Meeting:—

The Council is desirous of preparing a schedule of all ancient monuments, ruins, houses of historic interest, and those possessing noteworthy architectural features remaining in the county of Kent. An appeal is made to the Honorary Local Secretaries to secure the co-operation of the Members in their respective districts to enable them to fill up the accompanying form. It is hoped that by calling the attention of owners to the interest attaching to any special monuments or houses they possess, it will be the means of their being preserved as landmarks of Kentish history.

DRAFT OF FORM.

(1) Parish. (2) Near what Village. (3) Name of Monument, Ruin, or House. (4) Probable date of construction. (5) Brief description. (6) Name and Address of present Owner. (7) General remarks.

The following new members were elected: T. W. Burden, Esq., T. Shindler, Esq., J. H. Gill, Esq., W. Badcock, Esq., Rev. A. L. Brine, and Miss Horsley.

The Council met on the 22nd of June 1898 at the house of the noble President in Grosvenor Place. There were eight members present, presided over by Earl Stanhope.

Before proceeding with the business his Lordship referred in feeling terms to the loss the Society had sustained by the death, since the last Meeting, of the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, who was a zealous antiquary and a prolific writer on Kentish Archaeology. He was a valued Member of the Council, and had rendered active service at several of the Annual Meetings.

A programme in proof of the Annual Meeting to be held at Deal was read, discussed, and agreed to.

The Honorary Secretary reported that he had been twice to Fordwich in reference to the repairs to the Court Hall there—once to meet the Trustees, and a second time to go technically over the reparation scheme with Mr. Jezzard, a builder at Sturry, in order that the latter might prepare an approximate estimate of the cost thereof. That estimate had been obtained, which shewed that the amount to carry out the necessary work would probably not exceed fifty pounds. After much discussion Mr. Burch Rosher moved, "That the Kent Archaeological Society grant the sum of twenty pounds to the Fordwich Town Trustees towards the reparation of the Court Hall as contemplated, upon the condition that the Timber and Brickwork be effectually restored without being re-covered with plaster and cement, and the work be executed to the satisfaction of Mr. George Payne, the Honorary Secretary of the Society." This was seconded by the Rev. T. S. Frampton and carried unanimously.

Adam Walker, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, of Bromley, and 2 Essex Court, Temple, was duly elected Honorary Local Secretary for the Bromley district *vice* T. N. Crafer, Esq., retired.

Instructions were given for the investment of four Life Compositions amounting to £26.

The following new members were elected: A. H. Boissier, Esq., Rev. S. P. H. Statham, Miss Mary Stewart Gow, Canon E. Josselyn Beck, E. L. Tomlyn, Esq., Miss E. J. Stevens, the New York Public Library, E. M. Worsfold, Esq., and the Rev. Malcolm C. Baynes.

The Annual Meeting commenced at Deal on Wednesday the 27th of July 1898. The Business Meeting took place in the Town Hall by kindly permission of the Mayor and Corporation.

The Earl Stanhope presided, being supported by the Mayor (Alderman C. W. Thompson), several Members of the Corporation, and Members of the Council.

The Mayor in graceful terms welcomed the Society to the Borough, and expressed a hope that the members would have an enjoyable visit.

The noble President then called upon the Honorary Secretary to read the Annual Report, which was as follows:—

REPORT.

The Council has much pleasure in presenting to-day its Forty-first Annual Report, as the Society is still in a flourishing condition, and continues to maintain its high prestige.

Since the last Annual Meeting several valued members have passed away, and we deeply deplore their loss. Of these we may especially mention the name of the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., who was a loyal supporter of the Society, a ready helper, and an able and industrious writer. He wrote histories of Lambeth Palace, Boxley, All Saints' Church, Maidstone, Brasted, Detling, Hollingbourne, and East Sutton Church. He also contributed several Papers to our *Archæologia* and the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. Mr. Cave-Browne was a Member of our Council, and his genial presence will be much missed at its Meetings. Lieut.-Colonel Hartley, D.C.L., LL.D., was also one of the Council. He died suddenly during the present month, a few months after the death of his wife. Colonel and Mrs. Hartley were familiar faces at our annual gatherings, and for twenty years they were rarely absent, always shewing the keenest interest in our proceedings. Mr. John Wood, formerly of Chatham, has, too, been taken from us. He was a firm friend to the Society for upwards of thirty years, and presented to our Library a complete set of the *Gentleman's Magazine* Library and other works. The aged Canon Jeffreys, who was for upwards of sixty years Rector of Hawkhurst, and so munificent a benefactor to the parish, has also been laid to rest. He joined the Society in 1876, and rendered valuable assistance at two of our Meetings held at Cranbrook, and wrote for the Ninth Volume of our Transactions a history of his Church. Since the last Annual Meeting twenty-seven new members have been elected, while six await election at your hands to-day. The financial position of our Society is most satisfactory, the balance at the Bankers at this moment being £758 0s. 4d. During the autumn the Twenty-third Volume of *Archæologia Cantiana* will be issued, which promises to be one of the handsomest volumes ever printed by the Society.

Your Honorary Secretary has propounded a scheme for obtaining a complete list of all the ancient monuments, ruins, houses of historic interest, and those possessing noteworthy architectural features remaining in the county of Kent. The Honorary Secretaries will shortly be asked to secure the co-operation of

members of the Society to enable the forms which will be supplied them to be filled in, with a view to the returns being finally printed in our *Archæologia*. The Council has approved of the scheme, and it is earnestly hoped that by drawing special attention to these landmarks of Kentish History that it may be a means to their preservation. Some very interesting discoveries have been made in the county during the past twelve months illustrative of the Romano-British period, which will be recorded in our forthcoming Volume. Important researches are also being conducted at Boxley Abbey by Major Best, the owner of the property, particulars of which, when completed, will be prepared for our Transactions.

In assembling at Deal this year for the first time, the Council feel confident that the members will thoroughly enjoy their two days' sojourn in a district so full of archæological interest.

The Rev. J. A. Boodle moved: "That the Report as read be adopted." This was seconded by J. F. Wadmore, Esq., and carried unanimously.

It was moved by the Rev. A. J. Pearman, seconded by George Dowker, Esq., and carried, "That the retiring Auditors be re-elected for the ensuing year."

It was moved by E. W. Fry, Esq., seconded by T. F. Peacock, Esq., and carried, "That the six retiring Members of the Council be re-elected."

The following were elected to Membership: The Rev. J. Marling Apperly, C. W. Thompson, Esq., Miss Stokes, Alderman Cottew, and Miss A. J. Chambers.

The Business being concluded, progress was made to Deal Castle, which, by the courtesy of Lord Herschell, G.C.B., etc., was opened for the Society's inspection. W. L. Rutton, Esq., F.S.A., kindly read a Paper on the history of the fortress, after which the company perambulated the interior and the ramparts, subsequently proceeding in carriages to Betteshanger, the seat of Lord Northbourne, who had most kindly invited the members to partake of light luncheon. During the repast the noble President, on behalf of the Society, cordially thanked Lord Northbourne for his generous hospitality.

After luncheon the company divided into parties, which were conducted over the house by Lord and Lady Northbourne, Miss James, and his Lordship's Land Agent. Ample time was allowed for those who wished to pay an informal visit to Betteshanger Church, which stands within the park.

Ash Church was next visited, under the kindly guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. T. S. Woods, M.A., who read a Paper on its history. After an examination had been made of the many fine monuments the Church contains, the party returned viâ Sandwich to Deal, where

the Annual Dinner took place in St. George's Hall. The Earl Stanhope presided, and was supported by the Worshipful the Mayor, the Rev. A. J. Pearman, W. H. Burch Rosher, Esq. and Mrs. Burch Rosher, Alderman Cottew, the Rev. T. S. and Mrs. Frampton, R. Cooke, Esq., the Honorary Secretary and Mrs. George Payne, and about fifty other ladies and gentlemen.

Dinner being concluded, the noble President was obliged to leave in order to catch the train, having previously requested the Mayor to take his place at the head of the table.

The usual loyal and other toasts were proposed or responded to by the Mayor, the Rev. A. J. Pearman, Mr. Burch Rosher, Mr. G. Norman, and the Honorary Secretary.

The Evening Meeting took place at the Town Hall, Mr. Burch Rosher occupying the Chair. A valuable Paper was read by George Dowker, Esq., F.G.S., on "Deal and its Environs," and the Rev. T. S. Frampton, B.C.L., M.A., F.S.A., followed with "The Journal of a Bailiff from Sandwich to Yarmouth," which proved very interesting and amusing. Mr. Dunn kindly exhibited at the Meeting a few Anglo-Saxon antiquities which had recently been discovered in graves at Deal. Mr. Dowker alluded to these in his Paper, and the Honorary Secretary subsequently offered a few remarks upon them.

With a vote of thanks to the Chairman the Meeting terminated.

On Thursday the 28th of July the members were conveyed in carriages from Deal Railway Station to Walmer Castle, which was thrown open to the Society by the courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., etc., Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. When all had passed through the portal Mr. Rutton read a Paper on its history. Small parties were afterwards conducted through the various apartments by the official guide, who described with a stentorian voice the objects of National interest it contains.

After a long and profitable time had been spent there progress was made to St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, where luncheon was partaken of at the hotel.

After luncheon the company proceeded to the Church, where the Rev. G. M. Livett, Vicar of Watlingbury, gave an interesting address on its architectural history. While this was being listened to a thunderstorm passed over the immediate locality, which prevented the company from leaving the Church for upwards of an hour, and perhaps fortunately, as it gave Mr. Livett an opportunity of doing full justice to this gem of Kentish Churches.

The delay thus occasioned frustrated the intended visit to East Langdon Church for the purpose of seeing there the Mediæval Embroidered Cope of the fourteenth century, which is described in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI., pp. 10, 222.

When the rain had ceased the party returned to Walmer, where they inspected what remains of the ancient Parish Church, which has been converted into a mortuary chapel. The Vicar, the Rev. H. Venn, M.A., welcomed the members to Walmer, after which George Patrick, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., Honorary Secretary of the British Archæological Association, kindly gave a brief account of the history of the fabric, and described the alterations which were carried out according to his designs.

The day's proceedings were brought to a very pleasant termination by Mr. and Mrs. Burch Rosher inviting the company to afternoon tea at their residence, Wigmore, Walmer. The excessive rain in the early part of the afternoon prevented the garden from being used, which seriously interfered with the comfort of the host and hostess, but ample provision was made for their numerous guests in the house. Before leaving the Rev. Dr. Haslewood called for thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Burch Rosher for their bountiful hospitality and kindly courtesy, which was responded to with hearty applause by every one present. Mr. Burch Rosher having replied in the kindest terms, the company returned to Deal in time for the train, bringing satisfactorily to a close the Annual Meeting of 1898.

The laborious task of conducting the carriage arrangements on both days was kindly and most efficiently carried out by the Rev. Waterman Gardner-Waterman, M.A.

The Council met on the 30th of September at the Bridge Chambers, Rochester, by permission of the Bridge Wardens. There were four members present, presided over by Samuel Mercer, Esq. As several members were ill, and others away from home, there was not a *quorum*, hence ordinary business only was transacted.

The following votes of thanks in connection with the Deal Meeting were accorded:—

To the Mayor and Corporation of Deal for the use of the Town Hall; to the Lord Herschell for permission to view Deal Castle; to the Marquess of Salisbury for permission to view Walmer Castle; to the Lord Northbourne for generous hospitality and kindness at Betteshanger; to W. L. Rutton, Esq., the Rev. T. S.

Woods, the Rev. T. S. Frampton, the Rev. G. M. Livett, George Dowker, Esq., and George Patrick, Esq., for kindly giving papers or addresses ; to W. H. Burch Rosher, Esq., and Mrs. Burch Rosher, for their kindly hospitality at Wigmore ; to W. H. Burch Rosher, Esq., for much valuable help generally ; to the Rev. H. Venn and the Rev. F. Case for kindly assistance ; to E. W. Fry, Esq., for kindly issuing the tickets ; to the Rev. W. Gardner-Waterman for his valuable aid in kindly superintending the carriage arrangements during both days of the Meeting.

The following new members were elected :—Stephen Manser, Esq., T. H. Collyer, Esq., E. R. Courtney, Esq., A. W. T. Bean, Esq., Major E. A. U. Price, H. W. Tinné, Esq., the Rev. E. W. Carpenter, H. Brooke, Esq., F. W. Cock, Esq., M.D., and Henry Taylor, Esq.



Obituary Notices.

THE REV. W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A.,

HONORARY CANON OF CANTERBURY.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD SCOTT ROBERTSON was born at Churchill in Somersetshire on the 8th of August, 1836, being the elder son of William Robertson, who was of Scotch descent, and formerly an officer in the Indian Army. The younger son, George Augustus, was drowned when only fourteen years old, while bathing at Clevedon. The elder was primarily educated at a private school in London. Subsequently he became Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1855, graduating as Senior Optime in 1859, and proceeding to the degree of M.A. in 1862. In 1859 he was ordained Deacon, and in 1860 received Priest's Orders in Wells Cathedral.

While at college he resided with his mother, who was then a widow, and very young. Not being of a robust constitution he took no athletic exercises and could not stand hard work, being unable to pursue his studies in the evening. At that time he led a rather retired life, and shewed no antiquarian tendency beyond copying brasses.

His first curacy was at Chilthorne Dormer, Somerset; a year after he was appointed Rector of Sutton Montis in the same county, a living kept open for him until he became a Priest, and which he held until 1864 for the son of the former Rector (the Rev. Mr. Leach). From 1864 to 1866 he acted as Curate-in-charge of Fryerning in Essex, when he was presented to the Rectory of Elmley, near Sittingbourne in Kent, which is in the gift of his cousin, daughter of the late



The Rev. W. A. Scott-Robertson, M.A.,

HONORARY CANON OF CANTERBURY.

Colonel Archibald Robertson of the Indian Army. He left Elnley in 1884 on being appointed by Archbishop Tait to the Vicarage of Throwley. In 1892 Mrs. Wheler of Otterden Place conferred upon him the Rectory of Otterden, which he resigned in 1895. While there he was instrumental in bringing about great improvements in the church, with the liberal help of Mr. Wheler and his family. The chancel was built, a new pulpit erected, a brass lectern and other fittings added, and an organ introduced. The church was also re-seated.

Mr. Scott Robertson belonged to the Evangelical school of clergy, and was an *extempore* preacher. As he was riding to preach his first sermon, which was written, he lost it out of his pocket, which possibly determined his mode of preaching afterwards.

Mr. Scott Robertson was appointed an Honorary Canon of Canterbury in 1873 by Archbishop Tait, Commissary for the Bishop of Moosonee in 1882, Rural Dean of Ospringe 1888, and Commissary for the Bishop of Madras 1891. He was also Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Tankerville. When Mr. Scott Robertson became Rector of Elmley in 1866 he resided at Whitehall, Sittingbourne, and a year after was elected a Member of the Kent Archæological Society. His archæological attainments were immediately recognized by the executive, so much so, in fact, that in 1871 he was appointed Joint Honorary Secretary with Mr. T. G. Godfrey Faussett, whose state of health rendered it necessary that he should have some assistance. The latter found it imperative to resign the office he had so ably filled in 1873, thus leaving his colleague to carry on the secretarial and editorial duties alone.

For a period of over twenty years after that time no man stood more prominently before the Society, nor was more esteemed, than Mr. Scott Robertson. His learning, zeal, tact, indomitable energy, and remarkable power of organization well fitted him for the onerous task he had undertaken, and all these qualities he ungrudgingly devoted to the advancement of the science of Archæology and the welfare of the Society. During the lengthened period already mentioned he contributed about a hundred papers

to *Archæologia Cantiana*, many being of great historical value. The patient labour and research which the preparation of his contributions involved can be best understood by those who pursue similar lines of study. Beyond all this, the subject of our memoir was daily confronted with the grave duties of editing the Society's Transactions, to say nothing of the correspondence necessarily connected with the Secretary's office.

If the *Archæologia Cantiana* possesses, as we believe, a high reputation both at home and abroad, it is not too much to say that its success was mainly due to the care bestowed upon it by Mr. Scott Robertson for the nineteen years of his editorship. When describing some example of ancient architecture, either ecclesiastical or domestic, he was in his element; and those who attended the Annual Meetings during his tenure of office will never forget the learned, lucid, and pleasant way in which he described the numerous churches and buildings they visited under his guidance. He was endowed with that invaluable gift, a clear enunciation, and evidently had not lost sight of the fact in his early youth that it is imperative on the part of every man who is destined to speak in public for the rest of his life to pay some attention to the art of elocution. It was fortunate for the Society that he was not overburdened with his clerical duties during the eighteen years he was Rector of Elmley. The Isle of Elmley is about four miles in length and two in breadth, being separated on its north side from the Isle of Sheppey by a narrow water called the Dray. On the south side it is bounded by the river Swale, which the Rector crossed and re-crossed every Sunday, in all weathers, in an open ferry-boat. At high water the Swale at Elmley Ferry is half a mile wide, and after landing there is a walk of three-quarters of a mile to the church. This journey in the depth of winter, or in rough weather, in a country so bleak, is trying to the last degree.

The population of Elmley numbered about two hundred, consisting of the employés of a cement factory, shepherds, and farm-labourers and their families. What kind of congregation the Rector drew to his church from such a com-

munity it would be interesting to know. He invariably rode to the Ferry from Sittingbourne on a weedy thoroughbred, which held out for many years. He might be often seen going at a hand canter along the grassy edge of the marsh road. When the weather was inclement he remained at Elmley, returning after afternoon service was over. On these occasions he subsisted on a packet of sandwiches, and whiled away the time between the services in the vestry.

His kindliness of heart prompted him to take packets of sweets in his pockets when he went to Elmley on Sundays; these he gave to the children who opened the marsh gates for him along the road. At Christmas it was customary for him to take with him in his carriage a large plum-pudding and other good things, which he distributed amongst the school-children in the vestry after service. His love for children made itself manifest at all times, and he frequently entertained them at his house when a bachelor. To young men who shewed any ability he was especially kind. At Whitehall he was accustomed to hold a class for the junior teachers of the National Schools at Sittingbourne; these he taught *con amore*, thus fitting them for a higher sphere of labour in after life, to which, perhaps, they would not otherwise have attained.

During Mr. Scott Robertson's long residence at Sittingbourne he took part in many matters which concerned the welfare of the town and neighbourhood, but not prominently so. He rendered valuable aid to the local Literary and Scientific Association by describing a hundred churches at the summer excursions, and lecturing at the winter meetings. For a year or two he was President of the Society, relinquishing the office when he left for Throwley.

His home life was simple and uneventful. His mother, to whom he was devoted, resided with him until her death, which occurred in 1871. Thirteen years later he married Mary, second daughter of the late Rev. George Bridges Moore, Rector of Tunstall, and great grand-daughter of the late Archbishop Moore. Her thought and care for the sick and needy, her charm of manner and sweet disposition, were household words in the district in which she dwelt. These

virtues, combined with her devotion to her husband, brought great happiness into their home.

Their marriage gave the Members of the Society an excellent opportunity of shewing their admiration for the Honorary Secretary and appreciation of his services by presenting him with a handsome silver salver, tea service, and candelabra as a wedding gift. This was highly prized by Canon and Mrs. Scott Robertson, and regarded as one of the most precious treasures they possessed.

Mr. Scott Robertson's great interest in Foreign Missions was well known, and in spite of the numerous calls upon his time and energy, he prepared annually elaborate statistical tables of the progress of the Mission Work of the Church in foreign lands, which were considered reliable sources of information. These appeared regularly in *The Guardian*. He published nothing on his own account, but gave the whole of his papers on ecclesiological and antiquarian matters to the Kent Archaeological Society. He, however, rendered valuable assistance to other authors and publishers by revising their works as they passed through the press, the most important work of this kind being the revision of the proof-sheets of the new *History of Kent*, of which the first volume only has been issued.

In December 1888 the sad intelligence that Mr. Scott Robertson had been stricken with paralysis spread far and wide, causing the greatest consternation amongst his numerous friends. The peculiar nature of the attack, resulting from a clot of blood upon the brain, filled the members of his household with the gravest alarm. For some weeks his condition was one of complete prostration, but he happily recovered, and in six months' time he was sufficiently convalescent to enable him to attend a Council Meeting in June 1889, when he, to the great regret of all present, begged to be relieved from the secretarial duties.

The Council saw that it would have been inconsiderate to press him to continue in office; his resignation was therefore reluctantly accepted. In July he was elected a Vice-President of the Society. When the Annual Meeting took place at Canterbury in July 1890, the Earl Stanhope, as

President, in the name of the Society, presented to the late Honorary Secretary a fine silver bowl of the time of George III., on which appeared the following inscription: "Presented to the Rev. Canon W. A. Scott Robertson by the Kent Archaeological Society, in token of their high esteem and appreciation of his valuable services, on his resignation as Honorary Secretary. July 21st, 1890." This piece of plate was purchased agreeably to a resolution passed at the Council Meeting a month previously. Mr. Scott Robertson continued Honorary Editor of *Archæologia Cantiana* until the twentieth volume was issued, and then retired on the 19th of July 1892. This brought to a close all the official work that he did for the Society, but, as a Vice-President, he continued to attend the Council Meetings, to render valuable help occasionally at the Annual Meetings, and to contribute papers to our *Archæologia*. In 1895 he resigned the living of Otterden in consequence of the difficulties attending the letting of a rather extensive glebe. No tenant could be found, and he feared that his wife might be burdened with trouble and expense connected with it in case of his death. Taking up his new residence in that charming spot the Dane John at Canterbury, he seemed about to enter upon a new life. Now he was free to go where and when he pleased, to revel in the delights of the magnificent Cathedral he loved and understood so well, and to render help to the Dean and Chapter and others whenever his services were required. From his wide range of antiquarian knowledge he was much sought after in Canterbury, and was always only too ready to assist the inquirer. This happy state of existence, however, was wrecked by a return of the paralytic symptoms which had so prostrated him eight years before. After an illness of some weeks' duration he again recovered and resumed the peaceful routine of his daily life. On Saturday the 6th of March 1897 he was pursuing his literary investigations in the Cathedral library, and the same evening wrote a long letter to the Archdeacon of Maidstone; later on he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and passed away early on Sunday morning. As the congregations were leaving the various churches at Canterbury, the solemn tolling of the

great bell of the Cathedral announced that some important personage had passed to his rest. When it became known that Canon Scott Robertson was dead a painful consternation spread over the city, which in the course of a day or two extended to the whole county.

The funeral took place on the 11th of March. The first portion of the Service was held in the nave of the Cathedral. The body was met at the north-west door by the Dean and other members of the Chapter, with the Choir. As the procession passed down the central aisle the sentences were read by the Archdeacon of Maidstone. On arriving at the centre of the nave the coffin was placed upon a catafalque, draped with violet velvet and covered with a mass of beautiful wreaths. At the foot of the steps leading to the Choir the city and local clergy were assembled in their surplices. As soon as the mourners had taken the places assigned to them, the Choir sang unaccompanied the hymn, "On the Resurrection Morning." The usual Psalm followed, and then the Lesson was read by the Dean. Next came the hymn, "When the Day of Toil is done." The *Nunc Dimittis* was sung while the body was being borne out of the Cathedral, the first portion of the Service concluding with "The Dead March in Saul," played as a voluntary. The solemn procession then wended its way to St. Martin's churchyard, where the remains were laid to rest in a new earth double grave under a yew-tree on the north-west side of the ancient church.

The concluding portion of the Service was conducted by the Rev. A. T. Theodosius, who succeeded Canon Scott Robertson at Elmley, and the Rev. A. Stevens. The Suffragan Bishop of Dover (Dr. Eden) pronounced the Benediction.

There were present at the Cathedral or the graveside numerous friends of the deceased, and several of the Council and Members of the Kent Archæological Society.

The ceremony we have described at the funeral of our departed friend was an honourable and graceful tribute to his memory, and the spot selected for his grave, hallowed by

so many sacred and historic associations, was above all others best fitted for his last resting-place on earth.

On the Wednesday following his death he was to have preached at the mid-weekly Lenten Service at Canterbury Cathedral. Dean Farrar occupied the pulpit in his stead, and in the course of his sermon said:—

“My friends, if you look at the Cathedral paper you will see that the sermon this evening was to have been preached by one who but last Friday was in perfect health, in all his usual cheerfulness and geniality, but who already lies silent on his bed of death, and has been four days dead. To-morrow, after a Service at two o’clock in this Cathedral, he will be laid in his last long resting-place till the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. How little many of us thought, when we were talking to him a few days ago, that we had seen for the last time that genial presence! How little he thought when only the other day he read the Lesson here, as he did so often, that it was the last time his voice would be heard in this Cathedral, which he loved so well! Of all our Honorary Canons his was the most familiar figure here. He was a constant attendant at our worship; and by his admirable taste and antiquarian knowledge—especially by his learned and excellent book upon the Crypt, which is the standard work upon the subject—he had rendered very real service to this glorious and holy House of God. He was no mere useless and nominal member of this our body, but was glad in every way to help and to labour for it. I always felt for him, from the first visit he paid me, a high regard. I always knew that in him we had a cordial and kind fellow-worker. He was not only willing, but anxious to help us by every means in his power, and whenever advice was needed I greatly relied upon his judgment. Canon Scott Robertson was a delightful guest, an interesting companion, a valued friend; but far more than this, I always thought him worthy of that highest eulogy which any man can receive—he was a good man.”

In the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral the Dean and

Chapter put up a handsome marble tablet with this inscription :—

THIS TABLET
Is erected by the Dean and Chapter
To the beloved and honoured memory of
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A.,
Honorary Canon of this Cathedral,
As a mark of gratitude to one who ungrudgingly
devoted to the Service of the Cathedral
His faithful labours and his abundant
Antiquarian knowledge.
Born August 8th, 1836.
Died March 7th, 1897.

There was also a sum of two hundred pounds placed in the hands of the Dean, as a memorial, by one whose name we are not permitted to mention, to be spent at his discretion in some way towards the restoration of the Cathedral.

A further memorial has been placed in Otterden Church at the joint cost of Mr. and Mrs. Wheler, the Rev. C. E. and Mrs. Woodruff, and Mrs. Scott Robertson. This consists of a series of beautiful frescoes by Hemming upon the chancel-walls. The principal features are the figure of Our Lord as the Bread of Life, and the True Vine. On either side of the east window, and in the gable over, is a representation of the *Agnus Dei*, and Angels swinging censers, the whole being filled in with stencilling.

Every one who thoroughly knew Mr. Scott Robertson will endorse the Dean of Canterbury's opinion of him ; and in conclusion we must say, without fear of contradiction, that by the death of William Archibald Scott Robertson the Kent Archaeological Society has lost one of the most able men who have been connected with it.

THE REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

By the lamented death of this genial and kindly-hearted gentleman the Society loses a valued member of the Council, a firm friend, and an able archæologist. He belonged to a family which had many noted representatives in this country and in India. He was born at Nagapore, India, on 17th January, 1818, being the son of Lieut.-Colonel Edward Cave-Browne, fourth brother of the ninth baronet, and was educated at Wadham College, Oxford. His first curacy was at Burtle in Somersetshire after his ordination in 1841. From 1842 till 1851 he held the like office at St. Mary, Lambeth, during which time he devoted much of his leisure to investigating the history of Lambeth Palace. In 1851 he became a chaplain in the Honourable East India Company's service, and was appointed to a Government chaplaincy in 1857. He accompanied the Punjab Moveable Column in the advance on Delhi, and received a medal in recognition of his services. On his return to England in 1870 he was for two years curate-in-charge of St. James, Bermondsey, and from 1872 to 1875 held a similar appointment at Brasted, near Sevenoaks. In 1875 he was preferred to the living of Detling, which he held until his death in 1898. Mr. Cave-Browne was twice married, his first wife being the daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Turner of the Bengal Army, and the second the widow of Mr. Samuel Bostock of "The Hermitage," Walton Heath, and daughter of the late Dr. Iliff of Newington, S.

During the twenty-three years he was at Detling he did much for the welfare of the parish, and lost no opportunity of putting his Church into a thorough state of repair. Mr. and Mrs. Cave-Browne gave most liberally to the latter, their principal gifts being the beautiful oak reredos, and all the stained-glass windows with one exception. They also presented to the parishioners a Reading Room, and a clock in

the school tower. From Mr. Cave-Browne's twenty years' residence in India he became well qualified to contribute some valuable and interesting information to the world at large. This he fortunately did in the following works: *Indian Infanticide: its Origin, Progress, and Suppression; Incidents in Indian Life; The Punjab and Delhi*. He also wrote several articles under the title of "Reminiscences of an Old Indian" in the *Queen's Own Gazette*, the monthly magazine of the Queen's Own (Royal West Kent Regiment). Mr. Cave-Browne's settlement in the county of Kent stimulated him to add to its fame by writing the histories of the parishes with which he had been associated, and of those adjoining them. Hence he published the *History of All Saints, Maidstone, of Brasted, of Boxley Parish, The Story of Hollingbourne, Detling in Days Gone By, East Sutton Church*, and also contributed Papers either to the British Archaeological Association or the Kent Archaeological Society on "Leeds Priory, Kent," "Leeds Church," "In and About Leeds and Bromfield Parishes," "The Abbots of Boxley," "The Seals of Boxley Abbey," "The Fraternity of Corpus Christi, Maidstone," "Otham Church," "Cranbrook Church," "Minster Church in Sheppey," "Shurland Castle in Sheppey," and others.

Besides the above he had transcribed the whole of the Registers of All Saints, Maidstone, and a few numbers were printed as a monthly publication of the Baptisms, but not being subscribed for sufficiently, Dr. Howard prevailed upon him to publish the Marriages in his *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, where they have been printed in succeeding parts since 1895, and are still going on.

His chief work was the *History of Lambeth Palace*, which reached a second edition. The foregoing list is sufficient testimony of the author's industry; and the bright, pleasant style which pervades the whole of his writings proves how dearly he loved the work.

During the winter of 1897-98 Mr. Cave-Browne was laid upon a bed of sickness, from which he partially recovered; but a relapse occurred, and he died on 13th June, 1898, at the age of 80 years. During his illness he revised the proof-

sheets of the Paper on "Shurland House," which is printed in the present volume, and happily he lived just long enough to see his last work on *East Sutton Church* published.

On the 16th of June the late beloved Vicar of Detling was laid to rest in the picturesque graveyard of the Church in which he had ministered for nearly a quarter of a century. There were present at the funeral many of the district clergy, as well as representatives of the Corporation of Maidstone, of the Museum of the Borough, and of the Kent Archæological Society, the majority of the parishioners, and the whole of the school-children.

Archæologia Cantiana.

ROMAN DISCOVERIES.

BY GEORGE PAYNE, F.L.S., F.S.A.

I.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROMAN WAY FROM CHATHAM HILL TO DARTFORD, AND OTHER ROADS.

CHATHAM HILL TO ROCHESTER.

THE recent identification of the Roman walls of Rochester, and the discovery below ground of the foundations of missing portions, recorded in our XXIst Volume, gave us the precise boundary of the walled station of *Durobrivæ*. This has since led the writer to study more carefully the roads leading to and from the gates of the city. He had long held the opinion that the road from the foot of Chatham Hill to the base of Star Hill, Rochester, did not represent the Roman line, but nursed the idea until some evidence should be forthcoming to prove or disprove it. Throughout the present year (1897) an opportunity, such as only occurs once in a lifetime, has been afforded of examining several complete sections of the road from Chatham Hill to the end of Strood High Street. In Chatham, from Luton Arch to the Military Road, the entire thickness of the road was cut through to a depth of from 4 to 5 feet, exposing the natural *substratum* of brick-earth. Upon this small flints had been laid to a depth of a foot; then came a thin layer of what appeared to be mortar,

forming a kind of grout; above this was a 2-foot bed of gravel, grouted as before with mortar, then flints again to the present level, giving a total depth as already stated. If we compare this section with that seen of the Roman road in front of the Technical Schools at Rochester* a few years before, the wide difference between the two will be at once apparent. From the Military Road, Chatham, to the foot of Star Hill, Rochester, we have a length of road the site of which must, in Roman times, have been inundated by the highest tides, if not by every tide. To make this statement still more forcible, it will be necessary to remove the successive layers of material used in the construction and repair of the road since the days when the river was embanked; we should then see clearly that no road (as we understand the term) existed between the points mentioned. If such were the case, it furnishes an explanation of the term "Rochester Banks," which applies to the scarp of the chalk, now covered with houses extending from Chatham *intra* to a point opposite the Rochester Station of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway. This elevated land was in reality the bank of the river, which, during the present century, once more flowed up to its base when a breach occurred in the river-wall.†

We must now again revert to Chatham. The High Street of that town was originally "The Brook," and the Church of St. Mary, which is of Norman foundation, was at the north-west end of the street. The present High Street appears to have been formed when the Manor of Chatham, which occupied a portion of its site, was sold and cut up for building purposes soon after the year 1621. The facts we have mentioned prove beyond doubt that the thoroughfare under consideration, as far as Star Hill, Rochester, formed no part of the great Roman *Via*. The writer had already supposed that the actual course of the latter, after leaving Chatham Hill, might have been upon the high ground along the street called "Old Road," which passes in rear of the terrace erected in 1794, named Gibraltar Place. This notion

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXI., p. 10.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1.

was further supported by finding at the end of the street the channel of an ancient way clearly defined in the meadow beyond, but coming to an end by the mouth of the railway tunnel on the eastern side of the Chatham-Maidstone road. We inferred from this that it originally continued to the west in front of Fort Pitt Fields, entering Rochester by way of Star Hill.

This view was fortunately confirmed on gaining access to an old plan of the locality, which illustrates our paper on the discoveries at "The Brook" in the present volume (*vide* p. 20). On referring to the plan it will be seen that the road shortly after leaving the foot of Chatham Hill branches off in two directions, both roads finally merging into Star Hill, Rochester. Mr. Sills, Assistant Surveyor to the Corporation of Rochester, having kindly transferred to scale the lines of the old map to the present 10 feet O.S. map, shews that the "Old Road" (A) behind Gibraltar Place, before mentioned, continued on in front of Fort Pitt, then in rear of Fort Pitt House, and entered Star Hill, where Messrs. Patrick's Steam Saw Mills now stand. The lower road (B) followed upon the line of the existing new road as far as the summit of Hammond Hill; it then passed in rear of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and thence along what is now Nag's Head Lane, then on through land now occupied by gardens, passing in rear of Orange Terrace, and entering Star Hill, where Mr. William Haymen's house stands. We now have to decide by which road of the two figured upon the plan the Romans approached the East Gate of Rochester from Chatham Hill. In this matter, however, we are assisted by discoveries of several Jutish graves, made when Orange Terrace was built. These now fall into their proper place, by the side of a way whose antiquity they materially help to establish. Under these circumstances our decision must be in favour of the lower road (B), which was sufficiently high up the bank to be safe from all chances of inundation by the tides of the Medway, which, while we are writing, have once again devastated the whole of the low-lying lands in the district under consideration.

FROM ROCHESTER TO STROOD HILL.

During the year 1897 the laying down of a storm-water drain through the High Street of Strood revealed a discovery of unusual interest connected with the formation of the road which passes through that town from Rochester Bridge. When the Romans made the great way from the Kentish coast to the north of England, a wooden bridge built upon piles was thrown across the river Medway. On reaching the Strood side of the river, their engineers were confronted with a marsh about 355 yards wide. This difficulty, as the sequel will shew, they boldly overcame by constructing upon the alluvial deposit a magnificent causeway. The workmen employed in laying the drain cut through the entire depth of the causeway to the mud at its base, thus enabling one to obtain a complete section of this remarkable work, as follows:—

	Depth.
1. Layers of post-Roman roads . . .	2 feet 8 inches.
2. Paved surface of causeway . . .	6 to 8 inches.
3. Small pebble gravel, mixed with black earth, rammed	9 inches.
4. Flints, broken fine	7 inches.
5. Rammed chalk	5 inches.
6. Flints (whole, and rather large), rough pieces of Kentish rag, fragments of Roman tile	3 feet 6 inches.
7. Marsh mud, containing numerous oak piles about 4 feet in length, with pieces of wood laid at intervals across them, or perhaps they were originally made fast with nails.	

All the layers were exceedingly hard, requiring much labour to cut through them. The writer desired to obtain two or three large pieces of tile from No. 6, which could not be extracted with the pick until the surrounding stones had been removed.

The Kentish rag boulders forming the pavement of this formidable work were cut polygonally, the interstices having been filled in with very fine pebble gravel.

At one place, opposite Railway Street, about 7 square feet of the paved way were quite perfect up to the line of the footpath on the south side of High Street. At a distance of 3 feet 4 inches from the modern kerb was a wheel-track, grooved by wear to a depth of from 2 to 3 inches and 4 inches in width. There were three of these tracks parallel to each other, and about three inches apart. When the other half of the road was opened to admit of the storm-water drain being laid across to Railway Street, it was found that the surface of the ancient way had been broken up to some extent by gas engineers, but a portion of the pavement of it remained *in situ*, with one wheel-track shewing, at a distance of 6 feet 3 inches from the outer track on the opposite side of the way. It is impossible to say to which of the three above mentioned this one related. In the description of a Roman paved road discovered at Blackstone Edge the distance apart of the wheels of the waggons, as estimated by precisely similar wheel-tracks, is given as $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet; hence we may perhaps conclude that the single groove at Strood paired with the innermost of the three we have described, which would then agree fairly well with the Blackstone measurement. The approximate width of the Strood causeway was about 14 feet, or a foot less than the Lancashire example. The latter had down the centre a chiselled trough 17 inches wide, which Mr. Watkin considers* was for enabling wheels to be skidded. Such a provision was necessary at Blackstone Edge, but not at Strood.

At the suggestion of Alderman Wm. Ball, who is keenly interested in all matters connected with archaeology, the Corporation of Rochester caused a 6-foot square section of the pavement to be taken out *en bloc*, which was successfully accomplished by means of a steam crane, after the mass had been grouted into a stout wooden frame. This interesting memorial will be finally preserved in the courtyard of Eastgate House, where the Rochester Museum is to be located.

Hitherto it has not been quite clear why the Roman

* *Roman Lancashire*, p. 60.

way from the Medway to Strood Hill should have taken what may be described as a zig-zag course. We venture to think that the discovery of the causeway in the position in which it is placed has solved the problem.

It seems to us reasonable to suppose that the Romans on finding they had a marsh to contend with, involving so great and costly a work as we have shewn the Strood causeway was, would, with their characteristic foresight, construct it across the narrowest part of the boggy soil. Having done this, and reached more stable land, a line was then struck on the higher ground, clear of the marsh, to Strood Hill. Had the causeway been made from the Roman bridge in a straight line to the road in front of the "Gun" Inn, which is at the extreme base of the hill, it would have necessitated a distance of 640 yards being covered, instead of 355 yards, as already stated.

During the excavations the workmen found in No. 6 layer a lump of ore,* weighing about 60 lbs., a leaden weight, and the following coins :—

NERVA. Brass (one).—*Obv.*, IMP.NERVA.CAES.AVG. *Rev.*, obliterated.

ANTONINUS PIUS (two).

First brass.—*Obv.*, ANTONINVS.AVG.PIVS.PP.TRP.COS.XXI. *Rev.*, figure by an altar, with serpent, in right hand a plate, in left a rudder resting on a globe. DES.III.S.C. in exergue.

Second brass.—Nearly obliterated.

GORDIANUS. Third brass (one).—*Obv.*, IMP.GORDIANVS.PIVS.FEL.AVG. *Rev.*, IOVI.STATORI.

MAXIMIANUS. Second brass (one).—*Obv.*, MAXIMIANVS.NOB.CAES. *Rev.*, GENTO.POPVLL.ROMANI; a young man holding a cornucopia in left hand, and a patera in the right.

Simultaneously with the excavations in Strood High Street, the strip of road between the western end of Rochester Bridge and Messrs. Aveling and Porter's Engineering Works was opened for the purpose of laying a large gas main. Here the workmen cut through a paved road, which gra-

* Mr. C. Bird, F.G.S., has identified this as *marcasite*, a form of iron pyrites.

dually sloped diagonally from the Roman causeway to the river. It resembled the latter in every respect so far as the operations permitted it being seen, and the writer was led to the conclusion that it might possibly have been a landing-place connected with the river, by means of which waggons could convey produce both to and from boats.

At the western end of Strood High Street the Roman way turns to the left, and during the drainage works from North Street to the marshes in rear of this portion of the town, the paved road was again met with in front of Messrs. Smetham and Tutt's new business premises. A short distance beyond, as we are informed by Mr. West, a portion of the same road was discovered some few years ago under the front of Messrs. Biggs' Brewery, tending to shew that the original course of the road was slightly to the right of the present one, but how far it follows this line on its way to Strood Hill has not been ascertained.

Throughout these researches, which extended over several weeks, the writer was greatly assisted by Mr. Smetham's prompt communications, also by the valuable co-operation of Mr. Banks, the Surveyor to the Corporation of Rochester, and Mr. Sills, the Assistant Surveyor.

STROOD TO SINGLEWELL.

Strood Hill may be regarded as the site of the ancient way. Upon its summit, a few yards from its northern edge, at the junction of Jersey Road with Castle View Road, when these streets were made, the grave of a Jute was met with, containing a skeleton, accompanied by a spear-head and knife. Some few years after Mr. J. L. Trueman kindly communicated the discovery, and presented the relics to the local Museum.

Although the land on both sides of the hill has been nearly covered with buildings, no further discoveries have come to our knowledge. Unfortunately, when trenches are cut for the foundations of houses, they are not usually sufficiently deep to disclose interments of Anglo-Saxon date. When the upper part of the grave-spaces are met with the

workmen at once detect that the soil has been "shifted," but unless they have been educated by an archæologist, no notice is taken of the sign—hence many valuable remains of ancient art are left a foot or two below, which, if disinterred by competent hands, would shed much light on the early history of the respective districts in which they occurred.

From what has been said it will be inferred that it is not improbable that a Jutish cemetery was situate on Strood Hill, thus establishing the antiquity of the road by the side of it.

After this digression, we must return to the Roman road, which goes in a direct line to the northern edge of Cobham Park, where within the fence its channel is distinctly visible, running parallel to the more modern road, into which here and there it merges. Just beyond what is known as St. Thomas's Well, and nearly opposite Thong Corner, the old road passes through a "shaw," its course being marked by a deeply worn channel, far below the level of the present highway. At the bottom of the hill the two roads again amalgamate, and pass on by Claylane Wood, which lies a little to the north. When a portion of this wood was grubbed up many years ago, the outlines of a camp were destroyed, and the numerous antiquities found in it became hopelessly scattered; hence all that would have thrown light upon the history of this spot is lost, but the camp may be regarded as in some way associated with the road. From here the latter preserves a tolerably straight line through Singlewell to Springhead, where, in the fields opposite the well-known tea gardens, foundations of Roman buildings extend over several acres down to the railway embankment. These, which have yet to be explored, are of the highest importance, as they are probably connected with the station *Vaguiaca*, which was located in the immediate vicinity. After leaving Springhead the road ends abruptly at the turning to Swancombe, but its original line went straight on along the hedge-row to Swancombe Park, passing through the southern end of the wood, emerging by a very deep channel on the other side, whence it runs to Dartford, entering the town at East Hill. At the foot of the hill the paved road was discovered during the present year (1897).

Mr. E. C. Youens kindly took a photograph of what was exposed, and stated that it was met with 2 feet 6 inches below the surface of the present road, and that the stones were set in gravel. Mr. Youens further states that it was exactly like the Roman road he had seen in the Forest of Dean. The Dartford fragment and the Strood causeway were discovered at the same time, the photographs of both being identical in appearance.

Quite recently a deep excavation has been made in the street leading from the High Street to the site of the North Gate of the City of Rochester, revealing, at a depth of 4 feet 6 inches from the present level, the Roman paved road.

As we are writing upon Roman roads, it will be convenient here to record that in August, 1897, Mr. H. C. H. Oliver of West Malling reports the discovery of a paved road, about 14 feet in width, in the High Street of that town, 18 inches below the surface. He describes it as having a sort of water channel in the centre of it, which he says is similar to that in the Blackstone Edge Road (*vide* p. 5), of which I sent him a sketch. Mr. Oliver informs us that the paved way at Malling is continuous down the east side of High Street.

These facts are important when taken in conjunction with the discovery of Roman interments a little beyond, by the side of the same road at St. Leonard's Street, in 1892. This road forms a connecting link between two great ways running from Maidstone: one going by Teston, Barming, and Mereworth; the other by Ditton, Wrotham, and Ightham—both of which we have endeavoured to prove are Roman,* and we have no hesitation in assigning St. Leonard's Street to the same period.

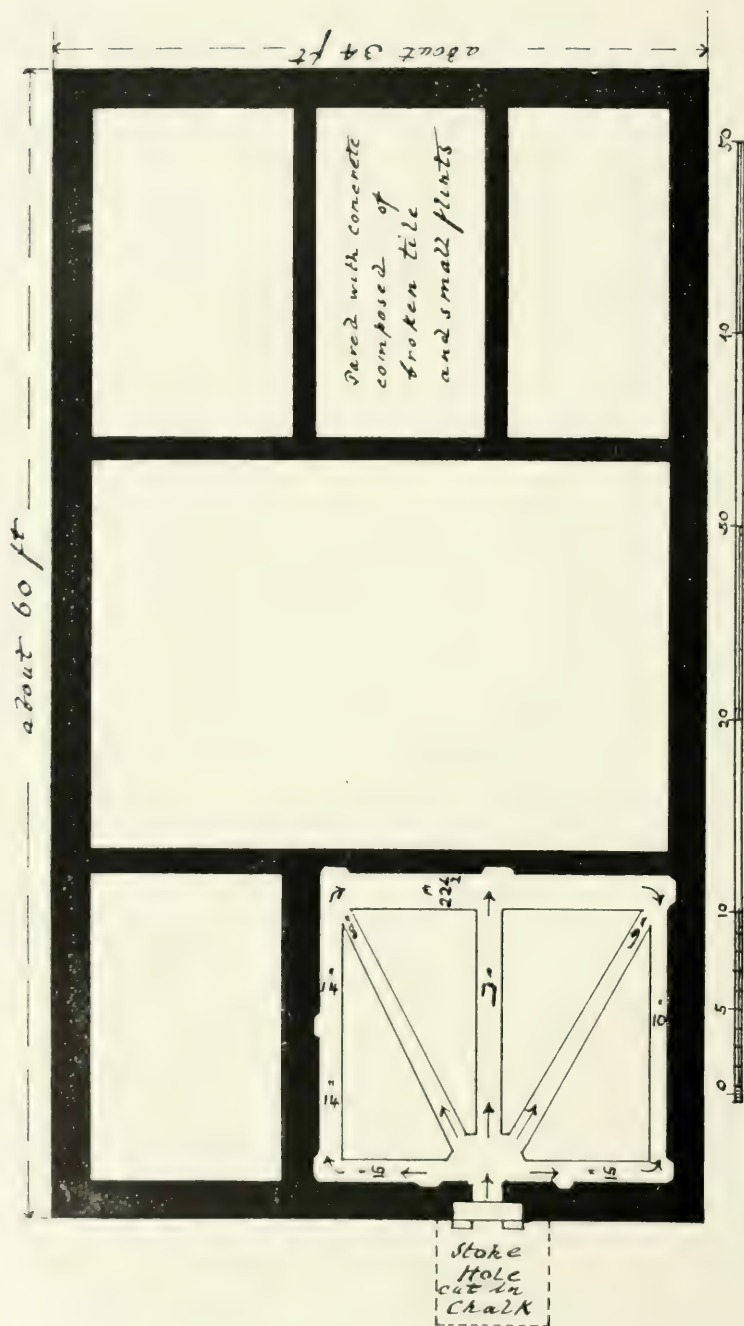
* *Collectanea Cantiana*, pp. 184-191.

II.—FOUNDATIONS OF A ROMAN HOUSE DISCOVERED AT BURHAM, KENT.

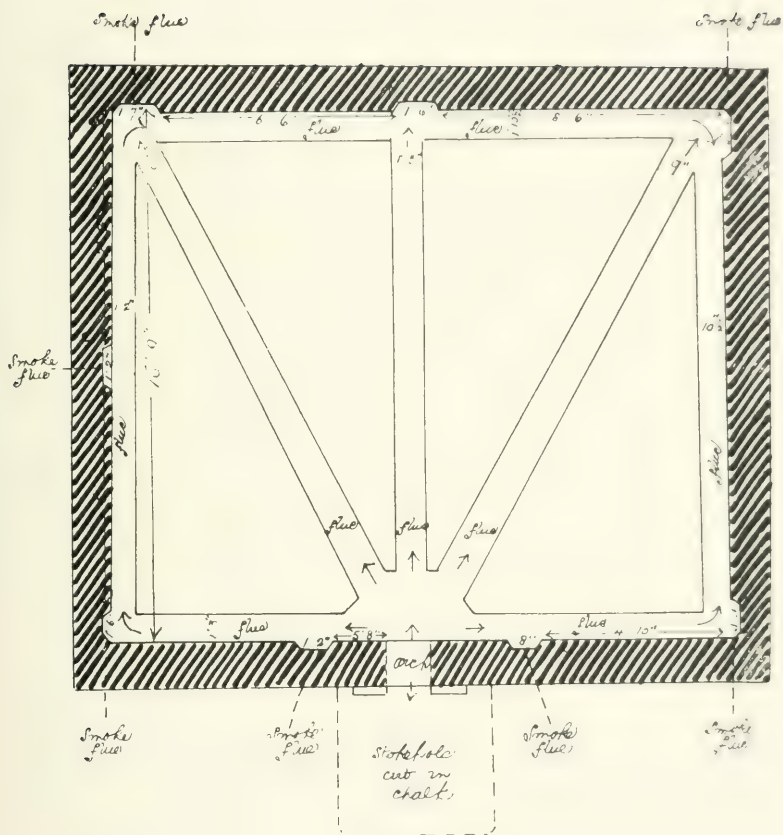
DURING the winter of 1896-7, when the land was being ploughed on Burham Court Farm, one of the horses narrowly escaped injury by its leg suddenly sinking into the soil. On the ploughman investigating the cause, it was ascertained that remains of masonry existed below ground. Mr. Brooker, the tenant of the farm, was communicated with, and he brought the matter under the notice of the Burham Brick and Cement Company, the owners of the land. Mr. Porter, the Managing Director, at once invited Mr. G. Patrick, A.R.I.B.A., Hon. Sec. of the British Archæological Association, to go down and inspect the discovery.

The Council of the Society very courteously requested me to examine the place, in conjunction with Mr. Patrick, and report as to the nature of the discovery. It was arranged that I should commence excavations on December 8th, 1896, with the help of seven labourers, kindly placed at our disposal by the Burham Company. In the space of a few hours the entire ground plan of a small Roman house was laid bare, possessing at the north-west angle a remarkably interesting hypocaust of unusual type. During the progress of the work Mr. Patrick, with Mr. Staniland, one of the directors of the Company, arrived upon the scene, when the former at once set to work to measure and prepare a plan of the foundations. It will be seen that the dwelling consisted of six rooms on the ground floor. No trace of pavement was met with in either of the rooms, but one room was paved with large chips of red and buff tile set in mortar, the whole having been rammed to an even surface. The heated room had been paved with pebble-concrete four inches in thickness.

On referring to the plan the peculiar construction of the hypocaust will be clearly understood. Around its margin is a channel cut in the chalk to a depth of 3 feet. Connected with it are three flues which radiate from the mouth of the furnace. The sides of the former were coated with a thick coarse brownish-coloured plaster, in which were recesses (as shewn in the plan) for the reception of flue tiles, set in pairs



PLAN OF ROMAN HOUSE, BURHAM.

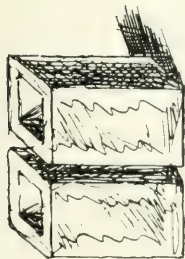


PLAN OF HYPOCAUST.

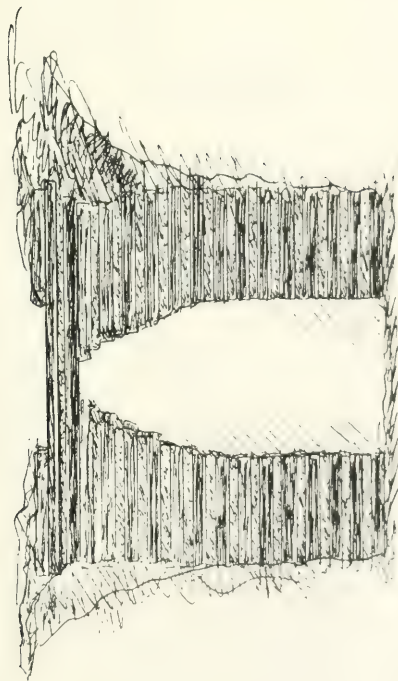
vertically, the remains of which were found still in position or lying upon the bottom of the hot-air passage. The central or main flue was neatly constructed with fourteen courses of red tiles; the upper four courses gradually gathered towards the apex of the arch, which was closed with a tile laid across. How far through the flue this arrangement extended could not, of course, be ascertained, but the southern end was much smaller, having vertical sides, with two courses of tiles overlapping on either side, the opening being about half the height of the northern end. Probably the contraction of the flue regulated the draught. The two flues right and left of the central one were formed of four buff tiles, set square. The inner sides of these three radiating flues were thickly coated with hard plaster, similar to that lining the channel already mentioned. The latter had been originally covered with oblong tiles, but a few only remained *in situ*. All the tiles used in the construction of this hypocaust were of the kind usually found under floors suspended upon *pilæ*. Upon the floor of the outer flue several pieces of painted plaster were met with, coloured grey, red, black, green, and ochre, some shewing the usual broad and narrow bands of decoration. The presence of these fragments in the outer flue shewed that when the tiles with which it was covered collapsed, the plaster upon the walls of the apartment above eventually gave way, falling into the cavity below. The radiating flues being at a lower level than the tiles upon the flue surrounding the hypocaust, blocks of chalk had been laid over them to effect a level; then the entire floor was covered with two inches of hard brown mortar, then four inches of concrete mixed with pebbles, and floated off smooth at the top. The foundations of the house were built of flint, the walls being, as usual, 2 feet thick. The mouth of the furnace, as may be seen in the sketch, was built with tiles, and, like the entire hypocaust, in the best and most substantial manner. The stokehole outside was simply excavated in the chalk. Upon the floor of it was a thick layer of black wood ash. During the excavations a small broken black cup was met with, and in it lay a bronze bow-shaped brooch.

The site of this Roman house is on the western side of a road which runs from Burham Old Church to Little Culand (spelt Kewland on the O.S. Map), midway between New Burham Church and the Burham Company's Works. Little Culand farm is by the British trackway (Pilgrim Way) on the eastern side of the river Medway, and distant from Burham Old Church about a mile and a half. This short piece of road must now be regarded as of ancient origin, forming a connecting link between the British Way and the Medway. At the river end its antiquity is still further supported by the recent discovery of a supposed Mithraic Temple on Messrs. Peters' Cement Works. About a mile to the south-west of the Roman building which we have described lies Eccles, which the late Rev. Beale Poste considered was the site of a Romano-British town, named Aiglessa.* He refers to the discovery of coins, sepulchral remains, and foundations of buildings extending over twelve acres of land. It was not easy to identify the site from Mr. Poste's description, but during the present year I detected it upon the high land to the east of the great clay-pit, now no longer worked, in rear of the West Kent Cement Company's Works opposite New Hithe. A fragment of Roman roofing tile first attracted my attention by the pathway along the edge of the allotment ground; then a careful search was made over the gardens, when the entire area was found to be strewn with the débris of Roman buildings. An examination was then made of the verge of the clay-pit, which was rendered practicable by the slanting position of the earth which had crumbled down the embankment. The callov above the clay, from one to two feet from the surface, was full of broken red and buff roofing-tile, pieces of ragstone, an imbrex tile from a roof, blocks of tufa, red tesserae, etc., while at one place appeared the remains of a foundation composed of broken tile and concrete extending horizontally for several feet. Here and there bones of animals and teeth of oxen were seen, also a fragment of Samian ware and a piece of a glass vessel. At another spot were several blocks

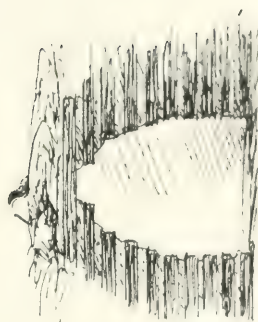
* *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iv., p. 81.



VERTICAL FLUES IN PAIRS

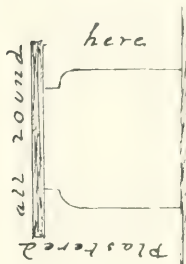


MOUTH OF FURNACE



NORTH END OF

CENTRAL FLUE



SOUTH END OF

CENTRAL FLUE



DETAILS OF HYPOCAUST.

of tufa which had fallen from a portion of the building constructed with that material. Altogether the debris could be traced for a distance of about 400 feet along the face of the pit, and over a much larger area upon the surface. During the investigations I entered into conversation with a labourer, who distinctly remembered seeing, when he was a youth (about 1850), some gentlemen* trenching the ground, when they found coins and foundations of walls. He also stated that the field in question had always been known as "Kiln Tile Field." It doubtless received this name from the numerous tiles found there. By the southern edge of the field is Bug-trap Meadow, in which is a willow-bed, where a spring exists which possibly formed the water-supply of the Roman dwelling. Nearly equi-distant (1 to 1½ miles) from Eccles are Kits Coty, the fallen cromlech called "The Countless Stones," and Mr. Silas Wagon's sand and gravel pits at Aylesford, which have yielded so many interesting remains of the highest importance, more especially those belonging to the Late Celtic Period.† The discoveries to which we have alluded are confined to a very limited area, and, when taken as a whole, shew how important this district was in ancient times. Every acre of land between Rochester and Maidstone seems to contain something of commercial value; hence we may look for extensive excavations still to go on, necessitating increased watchfulness on the part of archæologists combined with a liberal education to the workmen, without which our efforts to save antiquities from destruction will be of little avail. The writer embraces this opportunity of recording his indebtedness to the Directors of the Burham Cement Company for the facilities granted to Mr. Patrick and himself during the excavations on Burham Court Farm, and likewise to the Council of the British Archæological Association for kindly inviting him to participate in the work, and allowing him to make use of the accompanying plates, which are reproduced from Mr. Patrick's excellent sketches.

* In all probability one of these was Mr. Beale Poste.

† *Archæologia*, vol. lii., p. 317.

III.—ROMAN INTERMENTS DISCOVERED AT "THE BROOK," CHATHAM.

IN March 1897 I received a telegram from my friend and colleague, Mr. Humphrey Wood, F.S.A., that an important discovery of Roman remains had been made at Chatham. I proceeded thither without delay, and was sent on to "The Brook," where I found that workmen employed in levelling ground in the stone depôt of the Corporation of Chatham had accidentally cut through two graves, each containing a skeleton, accompanied by several vases of pottery. The moment I arrived, I detected in the newly exposed chalk bank the presence of other graves. With the kindly help of Mr. Day, the Borough Surveyor, arrangements were forthwith made with the authorities that I should be allowed to clear out these, and any others that might be met with, during the excavations. Every facility was afforded me to prosecute the research, and so great was the excitement caused by the discovery, that it was found necessary for a police-constable to be on duty to keep the crowd of onlookers at a respectful distance from the scene of operations for the space of about a fortnight. During that time the writer cleared eleven graves of their contents with the following result:—

GRAVE 1.—Cut through by the workmen. Skeleton almost entire. Between the lower leg bones a black urn-vase, which had once possessed a handle; height $4\frac{5}{8}$, diameter at mouth $2\frac{3}{4}$, at bulge $4\frac{1}{4}$, at base $2\frac{1}{4}$. A black patera; height $1\frac{3}{8}$, diameter $3\frac{5}{8}$.*

GRAVE 2.—Cut through by the workmen. Skeleton as before; about the legs, near the feet, a thick drab cup, well made, with nearly vertical sides rounding towards the base; height $3\frac{1}{4}$, diameter at mouth $2\frac{5}{8}$, at base $1\frac{3}{4}$. A black patera; height $1\frac{3}{8}$, diameter $4\frac{1}{4}$. A red vase,† ornamented with a row of fourteen spots, each $\frac{3}{8}$ in diameter (these spots are white, and were painted on before the vessel was fired). Above and beneath the line is a

* The measurements of the vessels are given throughout in inches.


† All the vessels marked with a dagger (†) are of Durobrivian ware.

band of incised marks; height $5\frac{1}{4}$, diameter at mouth $1\frac{1}{2}$, at bulge $3\frac{1}{4}$, at base $1\frac{1}{2}$. A vase,† red brown, ornamented with seven white scrolls round the bulge; height 4, diameter at mouth $\frac{3}{8}$ expanding to $1\frac{3}{8}$, at bulge $2\frac{3}{8}$, at base 1.

GRAVE 3.—The first opened by the writer. Skeleton fairly well preserved; length 5 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the left hand was across the centre, the right slightly below. On the vertebral column lay a flat piece of iron, $6\frac{3}{4}$ in length, looped at one end, and turned up at a right angle at the other. An exactly similar article was found in the Roman villa at Darenth. A quantity of iron hobnails were lying by the feet, proving that the deceased was buried with his sandals on. At the foot of the grave was a red-brown vase,† ornamented with three bands of incised marks, an inch apart; height $5\frac{1}{4}$, diameter at mouth $\frac{3}{4}$ expanding to $1\frac{1}{2}$, at bulge $3\frac{3}{4}$, at base $1\frac{5}{8}$. Four large iron nails were found at each end of the grave; these fastened the boards together which had been placed round the body.

GRAVE 4.—Skeleton about 5 ft. 6 in. in length, lower jawbone, arm and leg bones only remaining; bones of the hands in the pelvis. Outside the lower bones of the right leg was a black urn-vase, rather roughly made; height $3\frac{3}{4}$, diameter at mouth $2\frac{3}{4}$, at bulge 4, at base 3. By the foot a black patera in fragments. On the left, outside the lower leg bones, was a blue-black urn-vase; height $3\frac{1}{8}$, diameter at mouth and bulge $3\frac{1}{4}$, at base 3. Next this was a brown cup, crushed to atoms. By the feet were numerous hobnails, and by the right arm a potsherd. Ten iron nails were met with around the skeleton.

GRAVE 5.—Skeleton absorbed, a few fragments of bone only remaining. By the feet a good red vase,† ornamented with a band of fifteen white discs, a single disc appearing below the band; height $3\frac{7}{8}$, diameter at mouth $1\frac{1}{8}$, at bulge $2\frac{3}{4}$, at base $1\frac{1}{4}$. By the left lower leg bone was a pseudo Samian bowl, ornamented with double bands of incised marks; height $3\frac{1}{8}$, diameter $5\frac{1}{8}$. An iron nail was found on each side of the vertebral column, under the ribs; two nails occurred at the foot of the grave, and four at the head.

GRAVE 6.—Skeleton absorbed. At the head of the skull was a red-brown vase,† which had lost its original colour, and become drab; the rim of the vase was missing; it was ornamented with two rows of incised marks, and a double row of the same pattern; height 5, diameter at mouth $\frac{5}{8}$, at bulge $3\frac{3}{4}$, at bar $\frac{7}{8}$. On the left side of the skull lay ten bronze bracelets; three were of wire, one ornamented with concentric rings, two with an S-like design, one with punched dots, one with incised marks, one was a twisted coil, and one had no decoration. The flat bracelets resemble the ribbon-wire of a clock-spring, each having a hole in one end for the reception of a hook in the other. They are all very small, averaging, when fastened, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter. Lying upon the remainder of the lower jawbone was a pretty red vase,† ornamented with a band of white interlaced -like scrolls; height $4\frac{1}{4}$, diameter at mouth $1\frac{1}{4}$, at bulge $2\frac{7}{8}$, at base $1\frac{1}{8}$. Next this lay a red-brown cup;† height $2\frac{3}{4}$, diameter at mouth $2\frac{3}{4}$, at bulge $3\frac{1}{2}$, at base $1\frac{3}{4}$, the sides of the vessel being slightly bowed. By this was an iron knife, with a ring for suspension from the girdle, and on either side of the blade are corroded portions of the sheath, upon which is clearly visible the pattern of the threads of a garment against which it rested, preserved by means of the oxidation of the iron. Near it was the small bronze hook of an ear-ring. By where the hands would have been lay fifty-eight glass beads, about the size of hemp-seed, chiefly blue, green, and amber in colour; when strung together, they formed a pretty bracelet. There were four iron nails at both ends of the grave, which was certainly that of a young female; the cist being 4 ft. 8 in. in length, and 18 in. in width. At two feet above the skeleton a potsherd was met with, also a black patera; height $1\frac{1}{4}$, diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$. These must have been placed there during the filling in of the grave.

GRAVE 7.—Skeleton absorbed. At the north end was a black patera; height $1\frac{3}{8}$, diameter $3\frac{3}{4}$. Next it a black urn-vase; height $3\frac{1}{4}$, diameter at mouth 2, at bulge $2\frac{1}{8}$, at base $1\frac{1}{2}$. Near these was a pair of bronze ribbon-wire bracelets, linked together and fastened; both were ornamented

with punched dots. With them was a third bracelet of twisted wires. A foot to the south were three dark-blue beads, a green oblong bead with flat sides, and a dark green hexagonal bead—all of opaque glass.

GRAVE 8.—Skeleton absorbed, with the exception of a portion of the skull, by which was a small shapeless mass of corroded iron. By the feet were a few hobnails, and a black vase; height $5\frac{3}{8}$, diameter at mouth $1\frac{7}{8}$, at bulge $3\frac{1}{4}$, at base $1\frac{3}{8}$.

GRAVE 9.—Skeleton absorbed, a few potsherds and iron nails only found. This was evidently the grave of a child, the cist being 4 ft. 8 in. in length by 16 in. in width.

GRAVE 10.—Skull only remaining. No relics.

GRAVE 11.—Leg bones, right-arm bone, and a few teeth of the skeleton remaining. By the chest was a bronze penannular brooch, its ends having been rolled back with a double roll, by way of decoration. The circle is $1\frac{3}{8}$ diameter. By the right lower leg-bone was a pseudo-Samian bowl, ornamented with two double rows of incised marks; height 3, diameter $4\frac{1}{2}$. Opposite this, by the left leg, a fine brown vase,† ornamented at the shoulders with a delicate scroll pattern in yellow slip; height $8\frac{7}{8}$, diameter at mouth 1 expanding to $2\frac{1}{2}$, at bulge $5\frac{1}{8}$, at base $2\frac{3}{8}$. This vessel has acquired a beautiful bronzy sheen from having been overfired in the kiln when it was made. It is of superior manufacture, and exceedingly hard.

By the left foot was a reddish patera; height $1\frac{5}{8}$, diameter $4\frac{1}{4}$. Outside this was a red-brown vase,† ornamented with five bands of incised marks; height $5\frac{1}{8}$, diameter at mouth $1\frac{7}{8}$, at bulge $3\frac{3}{8}$, at base $1\frac{3}{8}$; by the feet were a quantity of hobnails.

Under the ribs and the lower leg-bones were large iron nails, with wood still adhering to them, lying in a horizontal position on either side of the skeleton. In the corners of the grave, by the head, the great nails remained in a vertical position, although the wood in which they had been driven had entirely decayed. From the waist to the knees fragments of charred wood were repeatedly met with, suggesting that fire had been kindled upon the corpse after it was laid in the grave.

In both this, and grave No. 6, it was apparent that more than ordinary care had been exercised in the burial of the bodies, as in each case finely-sifted earth covered the remains.

All the interments lay in two lines, six being in the first line, and five in the second. The grave spaces were cut in the chalk from 4 to 6 feet apart, and from 6 to 8 feet below the surface. This unusual depth is due to the graves having been made on the slope of the hill, hence additional soil would have accumulated over them in the course of centuries, probably to a depth of 3 or 4 feet.

The skeleton in grave No. 6 lay north and south, head to the south; the remainder north and south, head to the north.

Before proceeding to treat of the site of these discoveries at Chatham, one or two features of interest connected with them must be referred to. The presence of so many examples of Castor or Durobrivian ware in sepulchral deposits in Kent is unusual, and not a little remarkable, as occurring in such close proximity to the most extensive Roman pottery in Britain with which we are at present acquainted, namely, that in the marshes of the Medway, below Upchurch. The circumstance shews how widely spread the trade in *ficilia* was in this country in Roman times. The attractive decorations upon the Castor ware would naturally excite the envy and admiration of those who had been accustomed to look upon the dull black productions of the Upchurch potteries, and we can well imagine that high prices would be paid for more ornamental ware. Costly as they may have been, they were evidently not considered too valuable to be placed in the graves of their possessors. The occurrence of hobnails in some of the graves is a novelty with us, and we cannot call to mind another instance of their having been met with in any of our Kentish cemeteries. The writer found them on the floor of one of the corridors in the Roman villa at Darent. They have, however, been discovered in sarcophagi at Avisford (Sussex),* and York,† while more

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i., p. 124.

† *Eburacum*, p. 108.

recently Lieut.-Gen. Pitt-Rivers has figured examples found by him in graves opened at Bokerly Dyke.*

The existence of charcoal in some quantity, already alluded to in grave No. 11, is not without its interest, as it undoubtedly refers to a rite of applying fire to the body, rendered necessary by whole burial having been resorted to in preference to cremation.

Canon Greenwell, in writing upon interments of Celtic date, says :†

There is an incident intimately connected with burials by inhumation, which is rarely, if ever, wanting: the occurrence of charcoal, in greater or less quantities, in contact with the body. This substance, which I have found to exist in every instance since my attention was directed to the fact, not only in Yorkshire, but in Northumberland and other places, I have little doubt would be discovered connected with every interment of an unburnt body if it was looked for.

After thirty years of extraordinary experience in connection with ancient sepulture, I can fully endorse the opinion of my learned friend. Each of the Chatham graves contained fragments of charcoal, with which the writer frequently blackened his fingers for the edification of the workmen. This substance also occurs in Jutish graves in Kent, although of the most fragmentary nature, but enough to convince us that pieces of burning wood had been laid upon the body at the time of its interment.

We quite agree with Canon Greenwell when he says‡ that “the whole question of fire, the purifier, in its connection with funeral rites, is of the deepest interest.”

We have now to consider the most important feature of the Chatham discoveries, namely, the site, and their relation to others which have been made in close proximity to them. The western end of the stone depôt of the Borough, where the sepulchral remains were found, is bounded by a road which runs from “The Brook” to the southern slope of Chatham Lines. That portion of it which ascends the very steep

* *Excavations*, vol. iii., pl. clxxxi.

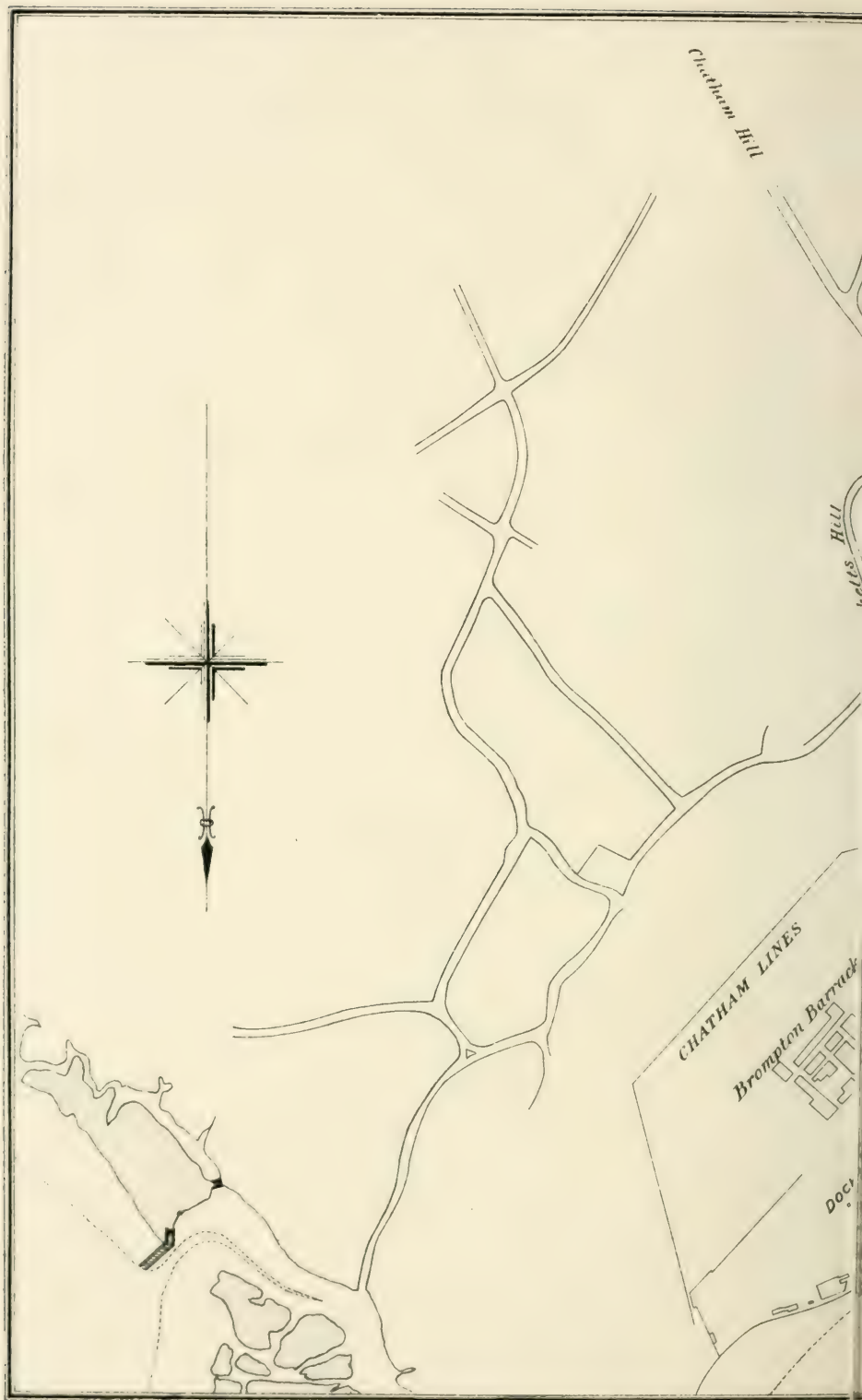
† *British Burrows*, pp. 28-29.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

slope of the Lines from "The Brook" is called Slickett's Hill, a name by which it was known a hundred years ago, as appears by Hasted's Map (a Map of the Hundreds of Hoo and of Chatham and Gillingham). Through the kindness of Lieut.-Colonel C. W. Sherrard, Sub.-Dist. C.R.E., Chatham, a copy was made for me of a plan, surveyed between 1696 and 1718, in possession of the School of Military Engineering at Chatham, and here reproduced by permission of the authorities. From this it will be seen that Slickett's Hill formed part of a road formerly extending from the foot of Chatham Hill diagonally across the Lines to Old Brompton, and thence to the river Medway. At present Slickett's Hill ends abruptly at the Lines, but its old channel may still be clearly distinguished in the grass beyond. The finding of graves on the very edge of Slickett's Hill gives the way an importance which it had not hitherto possessed, as it is strong evidence in favour of its having been in existence in Roman times. If further proof is needed to support the antiquity of the road, Douglas supplied it in the last century, when the fortifications were being constructed for the defence of the Dockyard, by discovering numerous Jutish interments near the road.* He also records† that when the fosse was made in front of Amherst Redoubt, the foundations of a Roman villa were cut through by the sappers. It is not improbable that some of those whose graves we have described dwelt in this house. The western end of what is now called the Lines formed a part of the manor of Upbery, a very significant name, denoting that a "bury" existed on the high land, now covered with earthworks of more recent date. The suffix "bury" does not necessarily imply that an ancient camp existed there, as it may refer solely to the *tumuli* which for centuries occupied the site. We may presume that many more of the latter were scattered over the surface of the Lines, which were levelled when the place was converted into a drill-ground. The mounds are gone, but the green turf still covers the bones of the Chatti who gave to Chatham its name.

* *Nenia Britannica*.

† *Ibid.*



Chatham Hill

Brompton Hill

CHATHAM LINES

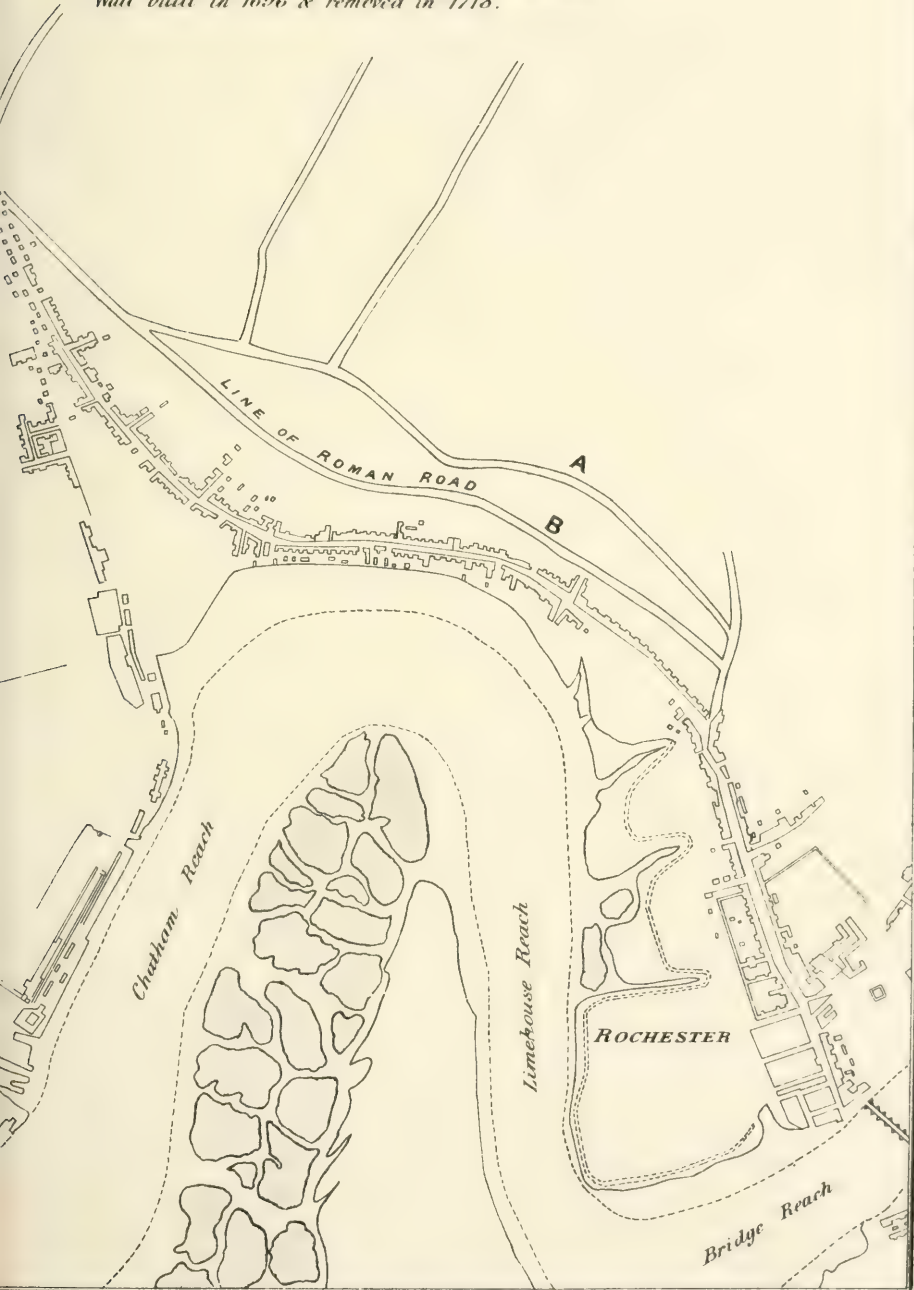
Brompton Barracks

Dock

Note as under on back of original Plan :

In this Plan the boundary & arrangement of the Dockyard are incorrect being apparently copied from Lampriere's Plan of 1719. Chatham Bks are omitted.

The original survey from which this Plan is copied (with alterations) must be a little older than Lampriere's, as it shows a part of the Old Dockyard Wall built in 1696 & removed in 1718.



In closing my report on the discoveries at "The Brook," it affords me much pleasure to record my gratitude to the Mayor and Corporation of Chatham, for the valuable assistance they rendered to archaeology by kindly permitting me to prosecute a systematic research, which enabled me to add another interesting chapter to the history of the locality. To Mr. Humphrey Wood I tender cordial thanks for his prompt warning of the first discovery; also to Mr. Day, the Borough Surveyor, for his indefatigable efforts to ensure my labours being crowned with success.

IV.—ON A ROMAN GOLD COIN FOUND AT DODDINGTON.

DURING the autumn of 1897 a labourer engaged in clearing away some dead stubs in Dully Wood, on the western side of the Doddington Valley, noticed on the margin of a shallow basin-shaped hollow some flints which he thought had been purposely inserted into a hole about eighteen inches in diameter. His curiosity being aroused, he pulled out the stones one by one, when, at two feet from the surface, he came upon a small portion of clay from which he extracted a fine *solidus* of Valentinian II., in the highest state of preservation. On my friend the Rev. Philip Kingsford, Vicar of Newnham, kindly communicating with me, I promptly paid a visit to Doddington, when I saw the coin, which, in the meantime, had been purchased by Mr. Jarvis, postmaster of that place. The latter very courteously conducted me to the site of the discovery, and pointed out other spots where Roman bronze coins had been found about Dully Wood, which he had from time to time acquired and disposed of. The wood possesses many curious features, including a dangerous denehole and several shallow circular depressions, to be subjected to further scrutiny when the underwood is cleared.

The gold piece which Mr. Jarvis has kindly allowed me to retain for purposes of engraving, is represented in the accompanying cut, and reads thus:—



Obv., D.N.VALENTINIANVS.P.F.AVG. *Rev.*, VICTORIA AVGG. Valentinian I. and his son Valentinian II. seated facing, holding a globe, both nimbed, a Victory flying above crowns them; in exergue T.R. Between the feet of the figures is a palm branch, and below COM.

V.—TRACES OF A ROMAN POTTERY AT HIGHAM.

IN *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI., pp. 113-120, Mr. Roach Smith in writing upon the collection of Roman remains made by Mr. Teanby of Gravesend, furnishes evidence of a Roman pottery having existed at Higham. Recently some further discoveries of a like nature have been made along the ballast cutting of the North Kent Railway, opposite the signal-box, about a mile beyond Higham Station. Here the workmen came upon two layers of potsherds, from 12 to 18 inches thick, each layer spread over an area 10 feet by 6 feet. These layers of débris exactly resembled those so frequently met with on the site of the great potters' fields in the Upchurch Marshes. On looking over the rubbish thrown out by the men, portions of all varieties of vessels were represented. The Higham ware was well

made, blue-black in colour, but not so highly finished as that made at Upchurch. The signalman informed me that, during the past twelve years, similar layers had been met with, and that "a gentleman from London used to come down every Saturday afternoon, and gather up anything he thought worth taking away." As this ardent collector has not been seen for the last few years, we may conclude that he has passed over to the majority, and all the information he gained has gone with him. I am indebted to Mr. Eckhart of Strood, and my friend Mr. C. Bird, F.G.S., for communicating the above discovery to me.

HENRY VIII.'S CASTLES AT SANDOWN, DEAL, WALMER, SANDGATE, AND CAMBER.

BY W. L. RUTTON, F.S.A.

A CORRESPONDENCE had place in *The Times* of September and October 1896* relative to Sandown Castle, the originator of which claimed importance for that structure over the other forts along the Kentish coast on the score of antiquity, size, strength, and construction. The writer, indeed, expressed his opinion that Sandown Castle was "undoubtedly of Norman workmanship," of which fact he had found proof in the tooling of Norman masons on its stonework; and on this ancient structure Tudor brickwork had been engrafted as a comparatively modern addition. The discovery must have somewhat startled Kentish archaeologists, who would seem to have been living all unconscious of this Norman castle within their borders! But the romance of a greater antiquity than the time of Henry VIII., and any claim for excepting this fort from the group in which up to the present time it has taken its place, will not bear examination.

In Vol. XX. I had the pleasure of bringing forward the building accounts of Sandgate Castle, which fortunately have been preserved. We have not the like source of direct and precise information concerning the building of the companion forts, yet the Sandgate accounts inform us thus far in regard to the castles of the Downs (viz., those of Sandown, Deal, and Walmer), that their construction was contemporaneous with that of Sandgate, this being made evident by the communication shewn to have passed between the builders.† In the same accounts, moreover, we find the explanation of the Norman tooling, which lately has been deemed proof of the Norman construction of Sandown Castle.

The Caen-stone used at Sandgate for facing the masonry had equally been handled, squared, and worked by Norman masons, not indeed at Sandgate, but at the Priors of St. Radegund, Horton, Canterbury, etc., from which, on their suppression and demolition, the material was carted to Sandgate, and there used second-hand. Had we the Sandown accounts, a similar transportation of material

* September 11, 17, 26, and October 5, 1896; the last letter by the present writer.

† Vol. XX., pp. 247-249.

would doubtless be discovered ; and one highly probable source was Sandwich, within a distance of four miles, whence, indeed (perhaps from the Carmelite Monastery of the ancient town), some ten loads of stone were brought by sea to Sandgate, distant twenty-one miles. Thus there need be no mystery in regard to Norman tooling.

The historical evidence of the building of these forts is perfectly clear. That of Lambard, who lived at the time, and wrote his *Perambulation of Kent* in 1570, thirty years after their completion, was quoted in the article on "Sandgate Castle." He is the only contemporary writer who mentions the forts severally ; collectively they have the earlier notice of Hall the Chronicler, and his quaint reference may here be acceptable :—

"The King's Highness, which never ceased to study and take pain both for the advancement of the commonwealth of this his realm of England, of the which he was the only supreme governor, and also for the defence of all the same, was lately informed by his trusty and faithful friends that the cankered and cruel serpent, the Bishop of Rome, by that arch-traitor Reigold Poole, enemy to God's word and his natural country, had moved and stirred divers great princes and potentates of Christendom to invade the realm of England, and utterly to destroy the whole nation of the same. Wherefore His Majesty in his own person, without any delay, took very laborious and painful journeys towards the sea-coasts. Also he sent divers of his nobles and councillors to view and search all the ports and dangers on the coasts where any meet and convenient landing place might be supposed, as well on the borders of England as also of Wales. And in all such doubtful places His Highness caused *divers and many bulwarks and fortifications* to be made."

Leland's excursions, which resulted in the *Itinerary*, were commenced in 1536, three years before the building of the castles ; therefore that work has no mention of them. But in his poem "Cygnea Cantio" of 1545, Leland (as Mr. W. D. Cooper points out in his *History of Winchelsea*) thus alludes to the forts, and lauds the sagacity of his kingly patron in building them :

"Prudens continuo per alta passim
Arces littora confici jubebat."

And to Winchelsea or Camber Castle he refers thus :

"Winchelsaya suos sinus tuetur,
Quâ Limenus aquas agit profundas."

And in these lines to Deal and the castles of the Downs :

"Dela novas celebris arces
Notus Cæsaris locus trophæis."

Holinshed is another contemporary who shews Henry VIII. to have been the builder of the castles, a fact, indeed, so well authenticated and established as hitherto to have been unquestioned.

Of Sandown, Deal, and Walmer Castles, large clear plans—to the scale of twenty feet to the inch, and made *circa* 1725—are

found in the King's Library, British Museum.* In the same collection, also, is a plan of Sandgate Castle and its vicinity, but only to the small scale of 200 feet to the inch, therefore not so complete and satisfactory. Of Camber Castle on the Sussex coast I have only the Ordnance survey, 208·33 feet to the inch. These plans, reduced or enlarged to a uniform scale, are now presented for the purpose of comparison of size and arrangement. This also will be assisted by the following Table:—

CASTLE.	Outer Diameter of Keep.	Number of Lunettes.	Approximate Form.	General Dimensions.†	Area Covered.‡
				Feet.	Acre.
Sandown - -	83	4	Quatrefoil	165 × 165	0·59
Deal - - -	86	6	Sexfoil	234 × 216	0·85
Walmer - - -	83	4	Quatrefoil	167 × 167	0·61
Sandgate - -	48	3	Trefoil	200 × 150	0·66
Camber - - -	70	4	Quadrangle	200 × 190	0·73

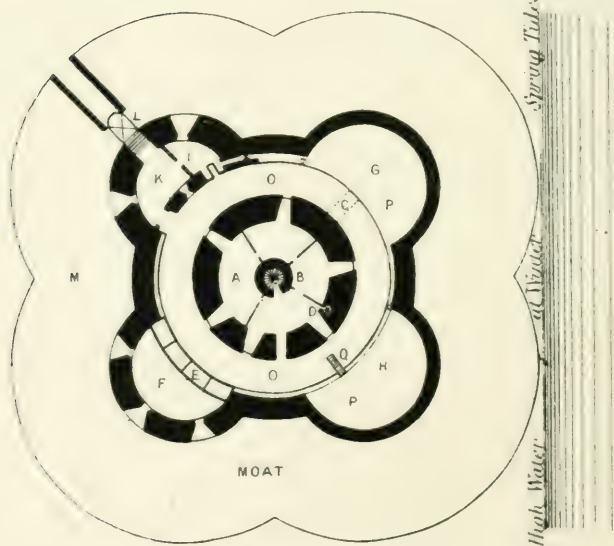
It will be seen from the plans, and from the Table, that Deal Castle was considerably the largest, that in point of size Camber Castle came next, that Sandown and Walmer were twin forts, and that Sandgate Castle, though different to these in form, covered as much ground. Far from having greater importance by reason of its size—as claimed by the correspondent of *The Times*—Sandown Castle was slightly the smallest of the forts; practically it was twin with Walmer.

A general design is apparent in the plans: a central keep environed by outer semi-circular bastions or lunettes. Variation consisted in the number of the lunettes which, being six, four, or three, caused the outline of the fort to approach to a sexfoil, quatrefoil, or trefoil figure. The central circular keep varied in internal diameter from 58 feet at Deal to 30 feet at Sandgate; its centre was occupied by a column 20 feet in diameter in the three castles of the Downs, and containing a well or staircase 12 feet in diameter. But at Sandgate the central column is only 5 feet thick, and therefore has no staircase. The keep consisted of three storeys, of which the upper two, divided by partition walls into four or five rooms, served for the lodgings of the captain or officer in command; below was the basement or “vault,” usually described as bomb-proof, and used for stores. At Deal, however—the superior fort—the keep, if originally occupied by the commanding officer, was not so employed in 1725, for here, the area being greater than at the other forts, space was found for the officer's quarters between the keep and the lunette most salient seaward.

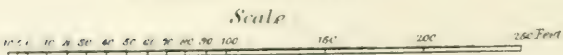
* Sandown XVIII., 50; Deal XVI., 43; Walmer XVIII., 59; Sandgate XVIII., 48.

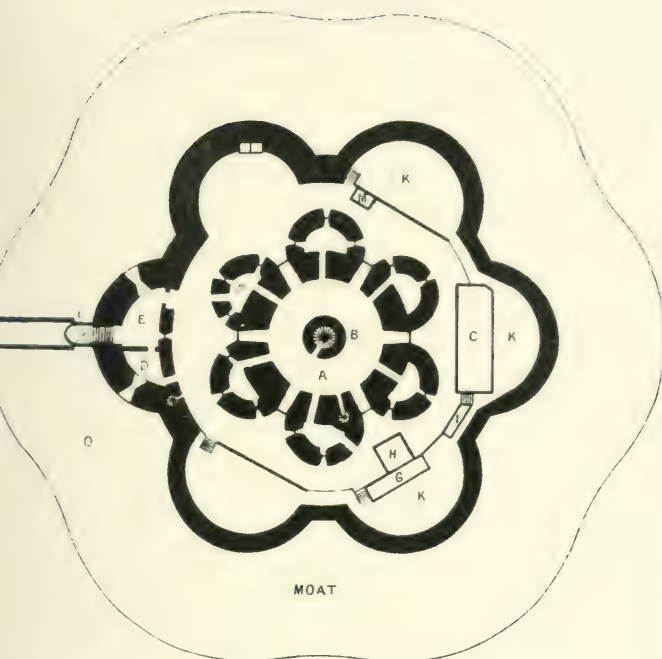
† These dimensions represent a general length and breadth, but do not serve for computing the areas, which are measured from the plans.

‡ The area actually covered by the fort, not including moat.



SANDOWN CASTLE



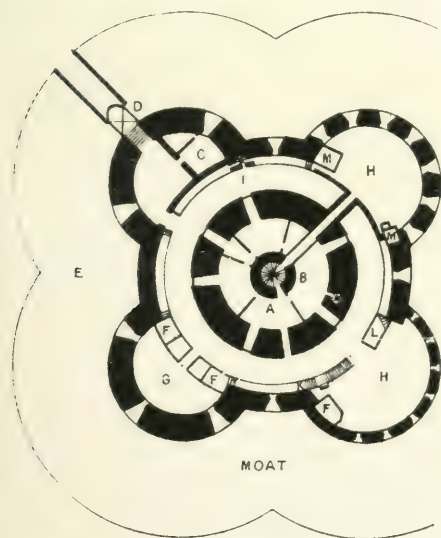


DEAL CASTLE

Scale

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 150 200 250 Feet

High Water at Common Spring Tides



WALMER CASTLE

High Water at Spring Tides

Thus the keep at Deal was free for military purposes, and from it opened six small inner lunettes, the produced centre-lines of which bisected the short spaces intervening between each pair of the six great outer lunettes, thus allowing the fire of an inner battery. The keep walls at Deal, Sandown, and Walmer were about 14 feet thick, and were pierced by the door and by loops which served for light or for defence. At Deal such openings occurred between each pair of inner lunettes, these also having severally their loops or openings outward. Around the keep was a clear passage or alley 14 to 16 feet wide, from which ascended steps to the platform level of the bastions or outer lunettes, on which were planted the guns. A moat about 50 feet wide surrounded the castle, access to which on the landward side was by a causeway crossing the moat and stopping short of the castle wall by ten or twelve feet; across the gap rose and fell the drawbridge, from which, by an ascent of seven or eight steps, the door of the porter's lodge was reached and the fort entered.

At Sandgate Castle the arrangement differed. The small plan of 1725, the only one we have of the building as it existed before the demolition and transformation of 1805, does not satisfactorily afford details as do the larger scale plans of the castles of the Downs. It appears from this small and consequently imperfect plan that the keep was not isolated as in the other forts, but enclosed within a ring of attached buildings; and beyond these was the walk or alley, whence the platforms of the three bastions were reached by stairs. If, however, the keep was immediately enclosed by buildings, it is difficult to conjecture how the two windows (apparently original), which it has to-day, received their light. Possibly the enclosure was not complete. Another peculiarity at Sandgate lay in the three towers which stood at the angles of the central triangular block. They were connected with the keep by the three long galleries which yet exist, radiating from the vault or basement, and they rose to the same height as the building in which they were set, their summits surrounded by embrasured parapets, forming gun platforms. The three towers corresponded, and were concentric with the three bastions in the outer wall. Again, at Sandgate there was no moat,* and the entrance tower (or "Half Moon" as from its form it was named) containing the porter's lodge was passed through before mounting the stairs and proceeding through the great gate on to the drawbridge which lay before the Castle door. The arrangement is described in Vol. XX., p. 254, and there illustrated by Mr. E. Kennett's excellent sketches.

Other details of the several castles will be understood by refer-

* Professor T. Hayter Lewis, in the plan which accompanies his article on "Sandown and Sandgate Castles" in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xl., p. 173 (1884), shews a moat at Sandgate *within* the walls. This could scarcely have been, although in the building accounts there is mention of a "ditch," position not indicated. Bucks' picture (*Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XX., p. 252), shewing port-holes of chambers at a low level precludes the idea of water *within* the walls.

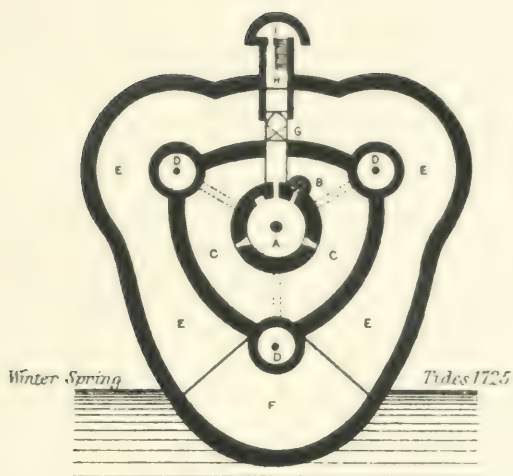
ence to the lettering and explanation of the plans copied *verbatim* from the originals.

There is not much history attaching to these forts. The little gathered in reference to Sandgate had its place in Vol. XXI., where it was said that no mention is found of a gun having been ever fired from its battery on a foreign ship. In Mr. Elvin's excellent account of the castles of the Downs (*Records of Walmer*) we hear of but one such shot, and it was fired from Deal Castle in January 1628, when "the admiral of a fleet of Hollanders, having passed Walmer Castle without striking his flag, was fired into as he passed under Deal Castle, and made to haul down his colours." But there was fighting here in 1648, sad to relate, between Englishmen, banded on the side of King or Parliament. In the month of May that year the Royalists rising in Kent gained possession of the forts, and kept them until towards the end of August, when one after another they were retaken by the Parliamentary forces. Walmer Castle, having been besieged for a month, had surrendered in July, and the most serious encounter occurred on the 14th of August, when a force of 800, landed from the Royalist fleet (which had attempted the relief of Deal and Sandown Castles), was defeated with a loss of 180 killed and 100 prisoners, the principal officers being included in the loss.

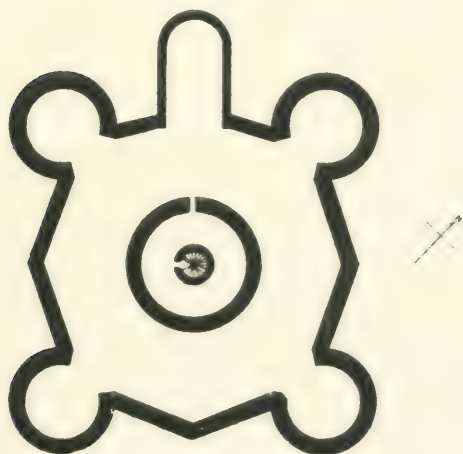
Of Camber Castle there is even less to report. Mr. Cooper (*History of Winchelsea*) shews that as early as 1626, it being in a decayed state and useless for the defence of the coast on account of the recession of the sea, a commission was directed to the Lieutenant of Dover Castle and other officials, including the Mayors of Dover, Romney, Hythe, and Lydd, for the demolishment of Camber Castle and for sale of the materials, of which the value was to be applied to the fortifying of other neighbouring castles and forts. The order, however, was not carried out at that time, and the castle was not dismantled until 1642, when the guns were removed and the structure abandoned to ruin.

At the present day all that remains of Sandown Castle is a fragment, the ruined strength of which amazes its occasional visitor. The destruction wrought by the sea was completed by the hand of man in 1864, when, the materials having been previously sold, the keep and greater part of the bastions were demolished. In later years the military engineers have practised their art of scientific explosion and destruction upon the remnant, yet in defiance of their assaults masses of the old walls remain.

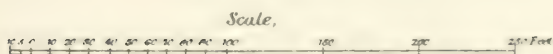
A happier fate has befallen the castles of Deal and Walmer, for within these old forts have been fashioned luxurious residences in keeping with modern requirements, and serving as the sea-side resort of illustrious and rest-seeking statesmen. Deal Castle was thus transformed by its captain, Lord Carrington, the contemporary of William Pitt, his neighbour at Walmer; and from him it has passed through the hands of other noble captains to its present occupant, Lord Herschell, the ex-Lord Chancellor. Walmer Castle, as the residence of the Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports during a



SANDGATE CASTLE



CAMBER CASTLE



century and a half, has indeed an illustrious roll of occupants. The Duke of Dorset was the first of these to occupy the castle, in the middle of the last century; his successors have been the Earl of Holderness, Lord North (afterwards Earl of Guilford), Right Hon. William Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury (afterwards Earl of Liverpool), the Duke of Wellington, the Marquess of Dalhousie, Viscount Palmerston, Earl Granville, Right Hon. W. H. Smith, the Marquess of Dufferin, and the Marquess of Salisbury. Each of these eminent men has left his mark, either on the building or its grounds, or in the personal effects which survive him; and of the latter class of memorials, those of paramount interest are the articles of furniture used by the Great Duke in the little room wherein he died.

At Sandgate Castle the picturesque effect of age was effaced by the transformation of 1805; only on close inspection is there now found to be anything more than an exaggerated Martello tower; and over what remains threateningly hangs the Damocles' sword of a Railway Company; while of Camber Castle the ruined walls, standing prominently against the seaward horizon, yet attract the attention of the wayfarer passing between Rye and Winchelsea.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLANS, AS FOUND ON THE ORIGINALS.

SANDOWN CASTLE.

A. The Keep.	H. Battery of five Guns.
B. Stairs to the leads [in centre of Keep].	I. Porter's Lodge.
C. Archway over the Passage [surrounding the Keep].	K. Gate-House.
D. Stairs into Lower Gallery.	L. Drawbridge.
E. Gunners' Cabins.	M. Moat.
F. Gun Room.	O. Passage about the Keep.
G. Battery of seven Guns.	P. P. Casemates.
	Q. Stairs up to y ^e Platform.

DEAL CASTLE.

A. The Keep.	H. Stable.
B. Staircase [in centre of Keep].	I. Gun-Room.
C. Governor's Lodgings.	K. K. K. Stone Platforms.
D. Porter's Lodge.	L. Drawbridge and Port.
E. Gate-House.	M. Gunners' Cabin.
F. Guard-House.	O. Moat.
G. Trophy-Room.	

WALMER CASTLE.

A. The Keep or Governor's Apartments.	G. Gun-Room.
B. Staircase [in centre of Keep].	H. H. Stone Platforms, 14 Guns.
C. Kitchen.	I. Staircase up to y ^e Wall.
D. Drawbridge.	K. Stairs down to the Gallery.
E. The Moat.	L. Stable.
F. F. F. Gunners' Cabins.	M. M. Summer Houses.

SANDGATE CASTLE.

The original Plan, being drawn to a very small scale, does not shew the several divisions of the Castle. The following reference is therefore in some degree conjectural:—

- A. The Keep, in which were the Captain's apartments.
- B. Staircase from basement to roof.
- C. Buildings removed in 1805; a passage, not shewn in original Plan, may possibly have surrounded the Keep.
- D. D. Three Towers connected with the basement of the Keep by galleries yet remaining, and probably also connected with the upper storeys. The basements of these Towers are existing, but above ground they have been removed.
- E. This space seems to have been partly occupied by a ditch; but that there were cellars or casemates in the landward bastions is evident from the embrasures, which in Bucks' picture* appear at a low level in the face of the outer wall.
- F. The Principal Battery, called the "Gun Platform," or "Mount," or "Stone Platform," from its being paved. Being elevated it was reached by stairs, and from the little Plan seems to have mounted eight guns.
- G. The Drawbridge.
- H. A strong Gate, yet *in situ*.
- I. The Porter's Lodge (from its shape called "The Half Moon") of two storeys, from the lower of which there was ascent by stairs to the Gate on the upper level. The stairs could be closed overhead by a "falling door," to receive which, when up, a recess remains in the side wall.

CAMBER CASTLE.

This Plan is merely an outline obtained from the Ordnance Survey. The Castle has been a ruin during two centuries and a half.

* S. and N. Buck in their *Antiquities* give views, taken c. 1735, of all five Castles. Of their former condition something at least is learnt from these pictures, although much reliance cannot be placed on accuracy of delineation. A copy by Mr. E. Kennett of the view of Sandgate Castle is in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XX., facing p. 252.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF ARCHBISHOP COURTENAY.

BY M. BEAZELEY, F.R.G.S.

WHERE was Archbishop Courtenay buried? Was it at Canterbury, or at Maidstone? Was his dying wish that his body might be laid to rest at his Collegiate Church of All Saints' complied with? or was this wish overruled by order of Richard II., and his remains brought to Christ Church and interred in the Trinity Chapel? Which is the Tomb, and which the Cenotaph?—the beautiful alabaster monument at the feet of the Black Prince? or the altar-slab of Bethersden marble at All Saints', with its vacant cell, which once contained a fine memorial brass? Is the claim that All Saints' contains the remains of the Archbishop "a fond thing vainly invented" by the Maidstone people? or are they, on the contrary, justified in holding that Canterbury's claim to the same simply originated in the pride and vanity of the monks of Christ Church? These are questions which have been raised for the last three hundred years, while the rival claims of Canterbury and Maidstone to possess the ashes of the Archbishop have each found support from the ablest antiquaries; and it is not a little remarkable that opinion on such an important subject should so long have varied among those best able to judge, while all the time means were at hand to settle the point beyond the possibility of doubt. But although so many who wrote on the matter have differed in their views of it, several of them have pronounced their opinions in a half-hearted way; while some have attempted to shroud theirs in a kind of Delphic utterance, so that their readers should be left in a state of uncertainty as to what was really intended to be conveyed. Very little argument or original investigations were employed on either side; and not until towards the close of the last century was the question lifted out of what till then had been little more than mere *ipse dixit* and conjecture by the

Rev. Samuel Denne, who took the matter up in a thoroughly business-like way on behalf of the All Saints' site, in his able letter on the subject, published in *Archæologia*, vol. x., and whose researches, aided by those of his brother, the Rev. John Denne, considerably strengthened the Maidstone claim.

The Canterbury champions, however, held their own, having been greatly assisted in this by the masterly arguments of the Rev. Beale Poste, and they obtained a goodly number of adherents until 1889, when the Rev. J. Cave-Browne, in his monumental work, *The History of the Parish Church of All Saints', Maidstone*, brought together all that was then known on the subject, and marshalled his facts and arguments for the All Saints' site in such an able and forcible manner that even the late Primate, Dr. Benson, who strongly favoured the claim of his own Cathedral, and who had jokingly threatened to excommunicate Mr. Cave-Browne if he deprived him of his Archbishop, became convinced, and withdrew the ban.

The publication of the above work, therefore, formed a turning point in the controversy, many of the Canterbury champions being driven to alter their opinion of the matter; and others, who were only half convinced, or convinced against their will, saw that unless further evidence were forthcoming in support of their own side it would be impossible any longer to maintain it; while most persons felt that, for the present at all events, Mr. Cave-Browne's view of the case did, and must, hold the field, this success on his part being due to the exhaustive manner in which he had treated his subject and dealt with the materials then at his command. He had consulted all the authorities who had written upon the matter; had considered all the evidence which was then known bearing on the case; had fairly given all the *pros* and *cons* on each side; and had logically worked up to the conclusion that Courtenay's body must lie buried at Maidstone, and nowhere else.

It will be well here to give some extracts from a few of the writers who have touched upon this question, not only to shew how much they have differed about it, and in what a hesitating manner some have pronounced their opinions, but also because it will be necessary to refer to these later on.

JOHN LELAND (as quoted by Mr. Cave-Browne in his above work*), in his *Collectanea* (circa 1544), says that Courtenay lies buried at Maidstone.

* Pages 42, 43.

Archbishop PARKER, writing in 1572, and speaking of Courtenay's death, says :—

*"In ecclesia Cantuariensi juxta feretrum Thomæ Becket ex australi parte sepultus jacet."**

JOHN STOW, in his *Annales* (first published in 1580), says :—

"William Courtney Arch-bishop of Canterbury, deceased on the first of August [1396], after hee had sate Arch-bishop of Canterbury 15. yeeres and more: . . . he builded much at Maidstone: he gaue by Testament 1000. markes towards the amendment of the bodie of the Church of Christ in Canterbury, where hee was buried."†

WILLIAM CAMDEN, in the four editions of his *Britannia* (1586—1594), when treating of Maidstone does not allude to Courtenay; but his translator, HOLLAND, in the English version of the work (1610), the proof-sheets of which were corrected by CAMDEN himself, says :—

"William Courteney erected a faire Collegiat Church [at Maidstone] in which he so great a Prelate, and so high-borne, lieth lowly entombed."‡

Bishop FRANCIS GODWIN, in 1616, says of Courtenay :—

"Humatus jacet ad pedes Edwardi Principis, ab australi parte feretri sancti Thomæ, sepulchro conditus alabastrino."§

In 1631 JOHN WEEVER, writing of Courtenay's monument in Canterbury Cathedral, says :—

"It was the custome of old, and so it is in these dayes, for men of eminent ranke and qualitie to haue Tombes erected in more places then one; for example and prooe of my speech, I find here in this Church a Monument of Alabaster, at the feete of the blacke Prince, wherein, both by tradition and writing, it is affirmed that the bones of *William Courtney* (the sonne of *Hugh Courtney*, the third of that Christian name, Earle of Deuonshire), Archbishop of this See, lies entombed. And I finde another, to the memory of the same man, at Maidstone here in Kent, wherein (because of the Epitaph) I rather beleeeue that his body lieth buried; Of which hereafter when I come to that Towne."||

* *De Antiquitate, etc.* (1605), p. 270.

† Stow's *Annales* (Edmund Howe's Edition, 1631), p. 314.

‡ *Britain, etc.* (1610), p. 330.

§ *De Praesulibus Angliae* (Richardson's Edition, 1743), p. 122.

|| Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 225.

34 BURIAL-PLACE OF ARCHBISHOP COURTENAY.

And further on, when speaking about Maidstone, he says:—

“He [Courtenay] lyeth buried according to his will here in his owne Church, vnder a plaine graue-stone (a lowly Tombe for such an high borne Prelate) vpon which his pourtraiture is delineated, and this Epitaph inlaid with brasse about the Verge.”*

WILLIAM SOMNER in 1640 speaks of Courtenay’s burial-place as follows:—

“This Archbishop lyeth buried (said Bishop *Godwyn*) upon the South-side of *Thomas Becket’s* shrine, at the feet of the blacke Prince in a goodly Tombe of Alabaster. But what sayes Wever? *It was the custome of old* (saith he) . . . [as above] . . . *I rather beleeeve that his body lyeth buried.* Thus he. His place of burial appointed of him in his Will extant in Christ-Church was the Cathedrall at *Excester*, where he had sometime beene a Prebendary, and where he requested the Bishop of the place to bury him. Afterwards lying on his death bed and having changed his mind in this point; and holding his body (as he then declared) unworthy of buriall in his Metropolitall or any other Cathedrall or Collegiate Church, he wills it to be buried in the Church-yard of his Collegiate-Church at *Maidstone*, in loco designato *Johanni Boteler armigero suo* (as his owne words are). Thus you see his Will sends us to seeke his buriall place at *Excester*. His after declaration on his death bed, to the Cimitery of his Collegiate Church at *Maidstone*. His Monument in that Church sayes he lyes there, and this in Christ-Church, that he is in none of the three but here. And that I take to be the truest. For I find in a Lieger Book of Christ-Church, that the King (*Rich. 2*) happening to be at *Canterb.* when he was to be buried (upon the Monkes suite, ’tis like) overruled the matter, and commanded his body to bee there interred.”†

RICHARD KILBURNE, speaking in 1659 of All Saints’, Maidstone, says:—

“*William Courtney* . . . erected the Collegiate Church aforesaid (in which he was intombed).”‡

HENRY WHARTON in 1691 favours the Maidstone site, as follows:—

“*Cantuariæ sepultum Godwinus scribit. Verius Maydenstonæ tumulatum esse patet ex codicillo. qui Testamento suo annexus extat inter Archiva Ecclesiæ Christi Cant. ‘Languens in extremis in interiori camera Manerii de Maydenston, voluit et ordinavit, quod quia non reputavit se dignum, ut dixit, in sua Metropolitana aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata Ecclesia sepeliri, voluit et elegit*

* Weever’s *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), p. 285.

† *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, by William Somner (1640), pp. 265, 266.

‡ Kilburne’s *A Topographie or Survey of the County of Kent* (1659), p. 178.

sepulturam suam in Cimiterio Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ de Maydenston, in loco designato Johanni Botelere Armigero suo. Atque isthic quidem Sepulchrum illius hodiernum visendum restat.***

NICOLAS BATTELY, in the second part of his edition of Somner's work (1703), endeavours at first to evade the question; for, although he commences his account of the interments of the Primates as follows: "I will now undertake to account for the Burials of all the Archbishops of *Canterbury*" (p. 32), he loses courage when he comes to the point, and merely says:—

"*William Courtney's Monument is placed at the Feet of the Black Prince. More of this may be seen in Mr Somner.*"†

Later on, however, when giving short memoirs of the Archbishops, he says:—

"*William Courtney . . . died Anno 1396: His Will is registered, and . . . By a Codicil annexed in his last Sickness, he appointed the place of his Burial to be in the Church-yard of the Collegiate Church of Maydeston in Kent; but this part of his Will was not fulfilled; for by the Command of the King his Body was interred in his own Church at Canterbury.*"‡

JEREMY COLLIER in 1708 gives the question the go-by, merely saying of it:—

"The next year, *Courtney*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* departed this Life at *Maidstone*. . . . We have one Instance of his Humility in his last *Will and Testament*, in which he order'd his Corps to be bury'd in *Maidstone Church-Yard*, not thinking himself worthy to lye in a Church."§

DR. JOHN HARRIS in 1719 affords a good instance of one who not only contradicts himself upon the subject, but who likewise endeavours to shroud his opinions in obscurity, so as utterly to confuse and perplex his readers. When treating of *All Saints', Maidstone*, he says:—

"In the Chancel, . . . and under a broad Stone near the middle of it, lies the Body of Archbishop *Courtney*, who died in the Year 1396 (and his Epitaph you will find in *Wever's Funeral Monuments*) as appears by part of the Inscription on the adjacent Monument of *Henry Tufton, Esq*; whose Body is said to lye next to that of the Founder of this Church."||

* Wharton's *Angliæ Sacra* (1691), vol. i., p. 121.

† Battely's *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1703), part ii., p. 34.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

§ Jeremy Collier's *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, etc.* (1708), vol. i., pp. 599, 600.

|| Dr. John Harris's *The History of Kent* (1719), p. 190.

And further on, and when speaking of Courtenay's death, he delivers himself as follows:—

"The Archbishop . . . died at *Maidstone*, A.D. 1396, and was buried as most write, in his Cathedral of *Canterbury*, near *Becket's Shrine*, on the *South Side*, where there is a Monument for him, with his Effigies on it, at the Feet of *Edward the Black Prince's Tomb*; though there is an Inscription in *Maidstone-Church* which implies that he was buried there, as I have already observed, when I spake of that Place."*

Rev. J. DART in 1726 writes in a very different way from the above shuffling style, and pronounces his opinion in favour of the *Canterbury* site in a most decided manner:—

"He [Courtenay] fell ill at *Maidstone*, and had by his Will appointed himself a Magnificent Burial; but says the Codicil to his Will, as he lay languishing in his last Hours, in the inner-Chamber of his Manor at *Maidstone*, he gave orders, that because he did not think himself worthy to be buried in his own Metropolitan, or any other Cathedral or Collegiate Church, he chose to be buried in the Churchyard of *Maidstone-College*, in the Place design'd for his Esquire *John Butler*: And there are those who Write that he was there buried; but most certain it is, notwithstanding this humble thought of his, in his lowness of Spirits, that King *Richard* the Second being at *Canterbury* when he was to be buried, over-rul'd the Will, and order'd him to be here buried, at the earnest request of the Monks; and his Monument of Alabaster, with his Effigy at length in his Robes, is in *Trinity-Chapel*, at the Feet of the *Black-Prince*: His death was on the 31st Day of *July*, Anno 1396, and he was buried here the 4th Day of *August* following, or, as *Thorn* says, on the last Day of *July*, the King and Nobles being present; the King going then to Marry the King of *France's* Daughter."†

Rev. WILLIAM NEWTON in 1741, writing of All Saints', *Maidstone*, says of Courtenay:—

"There were anciently in this Church several Altar-Monuments and Tomb-Stones, with Funeral Inscriptions on Brass Plates, which last are almost all taken away; . . . particularly one for Archbishop *Courtney*. . . . *Weever* says, that the Archbishop here lyes buried, according to his Will, under a plain Grave-Stone—so says Mr *Comden* and others; and his Epitaph tells us, that he bequeathed himself to be intombed in this present Place [the Middle of the Great Chancel at *Maidstone*; where the Stone is still remaining, raised a little above the Pavement, with the rough Marks of the Portraiture in it; but the Brass and Epitaph are gone]. But this was not the Place of his Burial, nor indeed the Place where he ordered himself to be buried. *Somner* says, that the Archbishop by

* Dr. John Harris's *The History of Kent* (1719), p. 552.

† Dart's *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1726), pp. 156, 157.

his last Will, now extant, appointed the place of his Burial to be in the Cathedral of *Exeter*, of which Church he had been some time a Prebendary; but that afterwards altering his Mind in this Particular, he in the Codicil of his Will orders his Body to be buried in the Church-yard of the Collegiate Church of *Maidstone*, 'in loco designato Johanni Botelere Armigero suo; the Place designed for John Boteler his Esq;' and yet, notwithstanding this second Order, Bishop *Godwin* says that *Courtney's* Body is not at *Maidstone*, but lyes buried on the South-side of Becket's Shrine in *Christ-Church, Canterbury*, at the Feet of the *Black Prince*, in a goodly Tomb of Alabaster; and *Somner* adds, that it appears by a *Leiger-Book* in that Church, that the King [Richard II.] being at *Canterbury* when he was to be buried (probably upon the Suit of the Monks), overruled the Archbishop's own Appointment, and commanded his Body to be there interred. . . . So that, the Tomb and Epitaph at *Maidstone* was no other than his Cenotaph; as it was customary in old Time for Persons of eminent Rank and Quality, to have Tombs erected in Honour of them in several Places: and the same Custom is continued to this Day."*

WILLIAM GOSTLING in 1774 walked very warily, and in speaking of *Courtenay* merely says:—

"At the feet of this tomb [Black Prince], and under the next arch, is that of archbishop *Courtney*, of alabaster, with his figure on it in full habit with his pall and crosier, but without any inscription."†

CAPTAIN FRANCIS GROSE, about 1778, when writing of *All Saints', Maidstone*, says:—

"The church is likewise a very good piece of Gothic Architecture: it was either rebuilt, or much repaired, by Archbishop *Courteney*, who therein lyes buried."‡

JOHN BURNBY, in the first edition of his excellent little work on *Canterbury Cathedral*, intended as a guide-book for visitors, and published in 1772, merely refers to *Courtenay's* monument when saying that the remains of Cardinal *Coligny* lie "At the feet of Archbishop *Courtney*,"§ but in the second edition of the same, 1783, he says:—

"At the feet of the *Black Prince* is an elegant altar-tomb of alabaster, in the Gothic taste, for Archbishop *Courtney*, with his figure lying at full length upon it in his robes, with his mitre and crosier. This prelate, by a codicil to his will, ordered his body to be interred in the church-yard of *Maidstone college*, of which he

* *The History and Antiquities of Maidstone, etc.*, by William Newton (1711), pp. 71-74.

† *Gostling's Walk* (1774), p. 161.

‡ *Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales (circa 1778)*, vol. iii., p. 69.

§ *An Historical Description, etc.* (First Edition, 1772), p. 61.

was founder, in the place designed for his esquire, John Butler, not thinking himself worthy to be buried in his own metropolitan, or any other cathedral or collegiate church; but King Richard II. being at Canterbury when he was to be interred, overruled the will, and at the earnest request of the monks he was entombed in this chapel of the Holy Trinity.”*

And further on, in his *Historical Catalogue of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, when giving the life of Courtenay, he says:—

“He died July 31, anno 1396, and his body was entombed, by the command of King Richard, in the chapel of the Holy Trinity in this cathedral.”†

EDWARD HASTED, in his *History of Kent*, 1778—1799, gives his opinion in favour of the Trinity Chapel site, albeit in a somewhat hesitating way, and not in the absolutely decided manner that could have been wished by the Canterbury claimants. When speaking of the “tombstone” in All Saints’, Maidstone, he says:—

“This is supposed to be the cenotaph of *Archbishop Courtney*, the founder of this church, for it was the custom in those times for persons of eminent rank and quality to have tombs erected to their memory in more places than one. . . . The *Archbishop* died at his palace at *Maidstone* in 1396, and in the first part of his will directed his body to be buried in the *cathedral church of Exeter*, where he had formerly been a Prebendary; afterwards, lying on his death-bed, he changed his mind in this point, and holding his body unworthy of burial in his metropolitan, or any other cathedral or collegiate church, he wills to be buried in the church-yard of his collegiate church at *Maidstone*, in the place designed for *John Boteler, his Esquire*; but it appears by a leiger book of *Christ Church, Canterbury*, that K. Richard II. happening to be then at *Canterbury*, when the *Archbishop* was to be buried, perhaps at the request of the monks, overruled the *Archbishop's* intention, and commanded his body to be there entombed, where he lies, under a fair monument of alabaster, with his portraiture on it, at the feet of the Black Prince. Thus *Somner*, *Godwin*, *M. Parker*, and *Camden*; but *Weever* thinks, notwithstanding the above, that he was buried under his tomb in this chancel at *Maidstone*.”‡

In the fourth volume of the same work, and when treating of the monuments in Canterbury Cathedral, he says:—

“Between the two next pillars, *eastward*, is the elegant tomb of *archbishop Courtney*, who died in 1396, having his effigies in *alabaster*,

* *An Historical Description, etc.* (Second Edition, 1783), pp. 47, 48.

† *Ibid.*, p. 98.

‡ Hasted's *History of Kent* (1782), vol. ii., p. 120.

dressed in his *pontifical* vestments, lying at full length on it, but without any inscription; many have contended this to have been only a *cenotaph*, as was frequently the custom in those times for great personages, and that the *archbishop* was buried in the chancel of the collegiate church at *Maidstone*, where there was a tomb and inscription, telling us that he lay buried there; but more of this will be found mentioned in the *archbishop's* life, below.”*

And further on, when giving Courtenay's life, he says:—

“He died at his palace of *Maidstone*, on July 31, in the year 1396, having sat in this *chair* twelve years, all but one month. Where he was buried has been a great doubt, our historians differing much as to the place of it. *Bishop Godwyn* tells us, this *Archbishop* lies buried on the south side of *Thomas Becket's shrine*, at the feet of the *Black Prince*, in a goodly tomb of alabaster. Here in the *Trinity chapel* is, at this time indeed extant, this his tomb, having his effigies at full length, habited in his *pontifical* dress, lying at length on it, but *Weever* in his *Funeral Monuments* seems to differ from him, for he tells us it was the custom of old, and so it was in his days, for men of eminent rank and quality to have tombs erected in more places than one; for example and proof of which, he found here in this church a monument of alabaster, at the feet of the *Black Prince*, in which, *by tradition and writing*, it was affirmed that the bones of *William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury*, lay intombed; but as he found another to his memory at *Maidstone*, he rather believed, *because of the epitaph*, that he laid buried there under a plain gravestone with his portraiture, in his *pontifical* vestments, and this epitaph round it, all inlaid with brass. . . . The *archbishop's* place of burial appointed by him in his will, which is still extant in the register of the church of *Canterbury*, was the cathedral of *Exeter*, in the nave there; but having afterwards changed his mind in this point, he, whilst lying on his death-bed, made a *codicil* to his will, in which, holding his body, as he then declared, unworthy of burial in his *metropolitanical* or any other *cathedral* or *collegiate church*, he willed to be buried in the church-yard of his *collegiate church* of *Maidstone* in the place designed for *John Boteler* his *esquire*; but it seems as if this part of his will was not fulfilled, for it appears by a small *leiger book* or *obituary*, kept in the library of the *dean and chapter of Canterbury*, that the King happening to be at *Canterbury* when he was to be buried, most likely at the request of the monks, overruled this matter, and commanded the body to be brought to *Canterbury*, where it was deposited in this cathedral, as above mentioned; the King, many of the principal nobility, *bishops*, *abbats*, and clergy, and upwards of 10,000 of the populace attending the solemnity of it.”†

RICHARD GOUGH in 1786 favoured the *Canterbury* site,

* Hasted's *History of Kent* (1799), vol. iv., p. 541. † *Ibid.*, pp. 724, 725

for in the first volume of his magnificent *Sepulchral Monuments* he says:—

“WILLIAM COURTNEY, archbishop of Canterbury, who died 1396, has in his cathedral, at the foot of the Black Prince, an altar-tomb adorned on each side with nine arches, and over each side two blank shields. On it his figure pontifically habited, with his mitre and crosier, an animal at his feet, and two angels at his head. . . . He had bequeathed his body to the cathedral of Exeter, whereof he had been prebend; but on his death-bed declaring himself unworthy to lie in his own or any other cathedral or collegiate church, directed by a codicil that he should be deposited in the churchyard of his collegiate church of Maidstone, in the place pointed out to John Boteler his esquire. But Mr Sommer says, it appeared by a leiger book of Canterbury, that the king being at Canterbury when he was to be buried overruled this his appointment, and ordered his body to be interred there. Weever and Holland give a long epitaph for him in brass, with his effigy, on a large slab still remaining in the middle of the chancel at Maidstone, in which the word *en* is the only proof that his bequest was fulfilled here. I rather think it alludes to his intention, without implying that it was fulfilled. It celebrates his comely person, *corpore valde decens*, and the figure in Dart's Canterbury expresses as much.”*

REV. SAMUEL DENNE in 1788 was the first to go into the question in a thorough manner, and in a letter of that date addressed to Richard Gough, and read before the Society of Antiquaries, he argues the case for the Maidstone site with great ability. It will only be necessary here to give a few short extracts from it, so as to shew what his conclusions on the subject were. He says:—

“... if Courtney was buried at Maidstone, to which notion I incline, he certainly lies under a gravestone in the middle of the chancel.

“Whether Courtney was buried here, or in his cathedral, is a controverted question; and as it may fairly be deemed a collateral subject, I will beg leave to trouble the Society with a fuller examination of it than it seems to have hitherto had.†

“... there are no grounds for imagining that the tomb-stone at Maidstone was not coeval with that event [the death of Courtenay]. As the monument at Canterbury is not known to have had an inscription, there is in this point no room for a comparison; we may, however, contrast the two monuments. That in Canterbury cathedral differs not at all from many cenotaphs, whereas this in Maidstone chancel is *prima facie* a very grave stone, without bearing any resemblance to a cenotaph. It is a flat stone raised but little above the pavement, and, as far as can be traced, was not ever more

* Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* (1786), vol. i., pp. 154, 155.

† *Archæologia* (1792), vol. x., pp. 271, 272.

elevated. . . . And its being not uncommon to erect in the same church where a person is interred a monument remote from the stone that covers the grave, this was a reason for my inclining to an opinion that the stalls in Maidstone chancel might have been of the sepulchral class. A memorial of the archbishop they [viz., the tombstone and stalls] certainly are; and as a piece of architecture, both with respect to style and execution, they are superior to the monument in Canterbury cathedral, which, on the authority of a monk of Christ-church, has acquired the appellation of the primate's tomb; but, after what I have written, may I venture to term it Courtney's cenotaph?"*

Dr. ANDREW KIPPIS in 1789 says:—

"Archbishop Courtney died, July the 31st 1396, at Maidstone in Kent, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, under a monument of alabaster, on the South side, near the tomb of Thomas Becket, and at the feet of the Black Prince; the King, who was then going to marry the King of France's daughter, being present, with several of his nobles, at the funeral solemnity."†

Rev. SAMUEL DENNE had in 1794, in conjunction with his brother the Rev. John Denne, taken the opportunity of the stone in Maidstone Church being raised to examine the ground underneath it, and having found some bones which he considered to be those of Courtenay, wrote, under date March 14 of the same year, a letter to Mr. Richard Gough, from which the following is an extract:—

"As from the stone's being raised . . . you will not be surprised that curiosity should prompt to a deeper search, with the view of ascertaining whether the archbishop was really there deposited, as the inscription, aided by tradition, strongly implies; and it was the united opinion of the examiners, founded on what they saw, that this was the case; and, consequently, that the tale of the body's having been conveyed to Canterbury by the King's command was fabricated by the monks of the priory of Christchurch, for the purpose of supporting as they conceived the credit and dignity of that cathedral."‡

RICHARD GOUGH was converted from his former opinion on the subject by the above letter, and in 1796 we find him writing as follows:—

"Cenotaphs are not unfrequent among us. . . . Archbishop Courtney, who has a monument in his Cathedral, was really buried in his collegiate church of Maidstone; where his remains, only a few bones, were seen lately."§

* *Archæologia* (1792), vol. x., pp. 282, 283.

† *Biographia Britannica*, by Andrew Kippis, D.D. (1789), vol. iv., p. 357.

‡ Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* (1796), vol. ii., part 2, p. cxxxvii.

§ *Ibid.*, p. cxxxvi.

42 BURIAL-PLACE OF ARCHBISHOP COURTENAY.

Rev. JAMES DALLAWAY in 1807 evades the subject, and in speaking of Courtenay's monument merely states:—

“That which adjoins, of Archbishop Courtenay, who died in 1396, is elegantly carved in alabaster.”*

EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY in 1807, when writing of Courtenay, said:—

“He died in July, 1396, at his Palace at Maidstone, where also he appears to have been buried; though some historians affirm that he was interred in the Cathedral at Canterbury, by the King's command.”†

And when describing the Trinity Chapel, he wrote:—

“The *Cenotaph* of ARCHBISHOP COURTENEY is under the adjoining arch, eastward from the monument of the Black Prince, and consists of a richly ornamented tomb in the pointed style, on which lies the figure of the Prelate, in *pontificalibus*, with his pall and pastoral staff, and his hands raised in the attitude of prayer. . . . There has been much argument used as to the fact, whether Archbishop Courteney was buried at Canterbury, or at Maidstone; yet, after the manner in which this question has been considered by the late Rev. S. Denne, in the Tenth volume of the *Archæologia*, but little doubt can remain of the real place of his interment being at Maidstone.”‡

And when describing All Saints', Maidstone, he decides the matter as follows:—

“He [ARCHBISHOP COURTENEY] was himself buried in the middle of the chancel, in a grave between five and six feet deep, where his skeleton was found in the year 1794, in consequence of a search made by the late Rev. Samuel Denne. This discovery terminated the contention which had long been carried on among antiquaries respecting the real burial-place of Courteney, and which, through the artifice of a Monk of Christ Church, in making a false entry in an antient Manuscript, had been frequently affirmed to have been in Canterbury Cathedral.”§

WILLIAM WOOLNOTH in 1816 says:—

“The humility of Courtney, and his attachment to a favourite residence, induced him to give directions in his last moments that he should be buried at Maidstone; which desire, a late discovery of his remains (of which there is an account in Gough's work) proves to have been complied with. The monks of Christchurch, whether

* Wild's *Twelve Perspective Views, etc.* (1807), p. 15.

† *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1808), vol. viii., p. 808.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 866 § *Ibid.*, pp. 1249, 1250.

out of respect for his character, or in order to assume the credit of possessing his remains, erected a costly cenotaph to his memory at the foot of the Black Prince in the Trinity Chapel.”*

JOHN BRITTON in 1821 gives his verdict the same way, as follows :—

“The cenotaph for Archbishop COURTNEY, who was buried at Maidstone, is placed under an arch to the eastward of the monument of the Black Prince.”†

WILLIAM HENRY IRELAND in 1828, when describing the Trinity Chapel, says :—

“The next monument, eastward, is that of Archbishop Courtney, who died in 1396, with his effigies in alabaster, arrayed in *pontificalibus*. Many have contended, the present is only a cenotaph, and that the archbishop lies buried in Maidstone church, but the supposition appears void of foundation.”‡

And later on, in 1829, when speaking of Courtenay in connection with All Saints’, Maidstone, he says :—

“The archbishop died at his palace at Maidstone in 1396, who, at the commencement of his will, directed that his body should be interred in the cathedral church of Exeter, where he had formerly been a prebend; but that having changed his mind in this respect, conceiving that his remains were unworthy of burial in his metropolitical or any other cathedral or collegiate church, he ordered that he should be interred in the churchyard of his collegiate church, at Maidstone, in the place designed for John Boteler, his esquire. However, it appears by the ledger book of Christ church, Canterbury, that King Richard II., happening to be then at Canterbury, commanded his body to be there entombed, where he lies, under a monument of alabaster, at the feet of Edward the Black Prince; such being the opinion of Somner, Godwin, M. Parker, and Camden, whereas Weever conceives that he was buried in the chancel of Maidstone church.”§

SAMUEL LEWIS in 1840, when describing Canterbury Cathedral, says :—

“In the arches surrounding the chapel of the Holy Trinity [is] the cenotaph of Archbishop Courteney, with a recumbent figure of that prelate in his pontificals.”||

* Woolnoth’s *Canterbury Cathedral* (1816), p. 90.

† Britton’s *Canterbury Cathedral* (1821), p. 68.

‡ Ireland’s *History of Kent* (1828), vol. i., p. 192.

§ *Ibid.* (1829), vol. iii., p. 649.

|| Lewis’s *Topographical Dictionary* (1840), vol. i., p. 451.

44 BURIAL-PLACE OF ARCHBISHOP COURTENAY.

JOHN WHICHCORD, jun., in 1845, when describing the monuments in the chancel of All Saints', says:—

"In the centre of the chancel, inlaid in a slab of Bethersden marble, was a superb brass of Courtney, the founder of the church and college, who was buried here, according to his will, in the tomb prepared for his esquire, John Botteler. . . . He died at his palace at Maidstone, in July 1396, . . . As will be seen in the Archbishop's will . . . the place of burial appointed by him was the cathedral church of Exeter, but whilst lying on his death-bed, by a codicil, he directed the interment of his body in this church. For a long time it was supposed he had been interred at Canterbury; a monument to his memory existing there, in the Trinity Chapel, having his effigy in pontifical dress, lying at full length upon it; Weever, however, distinctly mentions the slab in Maidstone Church as covering the place of his burial, and here his body was found a few years ago, upon examination for that object."*

Rev. R. WILLIS in 1845, in his *List of the Burial Places of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, gives:—

"1396 *William Courtney*. Near the shrine of Thomas à Becket to the south."†

Rev. BEALE POSTE in 1847, in his *History of the College of All Saints', Maidstone*, argued the case against the Maidstone claims with great ability, and says:—

"Respecting Courtney's actual place of interment, a great uncertainty still prevails. The codicil of his own will would incline us to look for the place of sepulture in the church-yard, he directing there to be deposited in the spot pointed out to his esquire, John Botelere (*in cineterio ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Maydeston, loco designato Johanni Botelere, armigero suo*). But if he were buried at Maidstone, this point was certainly overruled by his executors, from the circumstance of his monument being in the high chancel. There is also a monument erected to him in Canterbury Cathedral, though without inscription, a particular in which several of the tombs of the prelates buried there are deficient. It might be thought that the monument at Canterbury was a mere memorial or cenotaph erected in his honour. There appears to be, however, testimony of rather a conclusive nature, as to his burial in that metropolitan edifice. Somner, Godwin, Bishop, Parker, and Camden assert it, while Weever dissents. The evidence which has influenced the above writers is an entry in one of the ancient leiger books or registers of Christ Church, Canterbury, that the King, happening to be in that city when his death became known, specifically commanded that he should be buried in the Cathedral there. The above account is further corroborated by the concluding part or

* Whichcord's *All Saints' Church, Maidstone* (1845), pp. 18, 19.

† Willis's *Canterbury Cathedral* (1845), p. 134.

additions to Thorn's Chronicle, which, however, are by an uncertain author, otherwise, had they been by Thorn himself, who lived in those times and was a monk of Canterbury, the testimony would have been decisive. On referring to the inscription formerly on Courtney's monument in Maidstone Church . . . it will be observed, it does not positively say that his body is deposited there, but that he had ordered it in his will, '*qui se post obitum legaverat hic tumulandum.*' Indeed, after an attentive consideration of the epitaph, the correct inference to draw from it appears to be, that he was not buried there. The epitaph has neither the usual words, '*hic jacet,*' or '*tumulatus,*' but twice directs the beholder to the contemplation of the effigy formerly affixed to the slab, with which two summons and a description of his person, a considerable part of it is taken up. This wording of the epitaph can hardly be otherwise than remarked; but the Reverend Samuel Denne . . . considered the forms of expression as casual, and thought that the '*en Court-naius reverendus*' of the beginning, was equivalent to '*hic jacet.*' About the beginning of the year 1794, an endeavour was made to ascertain the disputed point of the interment. . . . On raising the stone, at the depth of six feet, a skeleton was discovered; but . . . nothing was found,—no episcopal ring or crozier, or aught else to identify the remains with those of the prelate in question; and from the perfect state of the teeth, which is recorded, some suspicions are excited whether the bones were not those of a younger individual. . . . Thus, after all, nothing was decided with certainty: and a negative proof here, of great importance, is required, namely, that Courtney's tomb at Canterbury, does not also contain its skeleton.

"If the bones found were those of Courtney, it will of course follow that the leiger book of Christ Church, Canterbury, is incorrect; and it must be admitted that Mr. Denne has shewn that this was not a current register kept at the time of deaths, but an obituary compiled nearly a century after Courtney, by a monk of the priory . . . [though the notice in it] is seemingly an entry as particular as could be desired.

"Of there being no crozier, cross-staff, or episcopal ring, found with the remains, it may be considered that there is no account to be made. Interments having taken place all round this central spot, some of the excavations may have been formed so near as to have furnished an opportunity of their being abstracted; . . .

"There appears to be strong internal evidence that the epitaph was not written till about half a century after Courtney's decease. . . . Nor could it have been written till the whole of the first members of the College, and all the generation that recollected Courtney had passed away, for it gives the date of his death 1395, instead of 1396. . . . The following may have been the state of the case in respect to this monument:—In the first instance, on the building of the Church there might have been some brief inscription stating the circumstance of the founding of the Church by the prelate, which afterwards it was judged proper to supersede by the splendid brass effigy which there undoubtedly was once here, and

by the inscription which Weever has handed down to us. It seems most judicious to entertain this view, rather than to set aside the Christ Church obituary, and Thorn's continuator, as well as the internal evidence of the epitaph itself, from the circumstance of the bones found by Mr. Denne and his associates, which might have been those of another person."*

DEAN STANLEY in 1852, when mentioning those who attended the funeral of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral, says:—

"A third was Courtenay, Bishop of London, who now lies at the Prince's feet."†

And in 1855, when describing the Trinity Chapel, remarks:—

"Why Archbishop Courtenay was brought into so august a company is not clear; it was against his own wish, and is said to have been at the express command of King Richard II., who was at Canterbury at the time."‡

HERBERT L. SMITH in 1858 says of Courtenay:—

"At the time of his death, July 31st, 1396, King Richard II. was at Canterbury, and being informed of that event, gave orders that the obsequies should take place there; and his body was accordingly removed to Canterbury for that purpose on the 4th of August, where, according to a small old Obituary in the Registry of Canterbury, he was interred in the presence of the King, nobility, clergy, and ten thousand people.

"If this be a correct historical outline, we may reasonably conclude that Courtenay's remains lie at Canterbury, beneath the alabaster monument there raised to his memory, though without an inscription. A tomb, however, had been prepared for him at Maidstone. . . . On this altar-tomb, probably, Courtenay's body lay in state immediately after his death, with the full intention that his obsequies would be there completed as by himself directed, . . . but, owing to the King's directions, the tomb itself remained a mere cenotaph."§

Dean Hook in 1865, in his "Life of Courtenay," says:—

"Courtenay was not a man of a vigorous constitution, and the annoyances, difficulties, and heavy responsibilities of his high office told upon him, making him prematurely old . . .

"On the 31st July, 1396, Courtenay died. Preparations were immediately made for carrying the archbishop's directions, as to his

* Beale Poste's *History of the College of All Saints', Maidstone* (1847), pp. 87-90.

† Stanley's *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* (Third Edition, 1857), pp. 135, 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

§ *Archæologia Cantiana* (1858), Vol. I., pp. 179, 180.

funeral, into effect. There still exists in the pavement of the chancel in Maidstone church a large slab. . . . Until the commencement of the present century it formed the tablet of an altar-tomb. On this spot it is supposed that Courtenay's body lay in state, immediately after his death, with the full intention that his obsequies would be there completed as by himself directed; but it was ordered otherwise. The chapter of Canterbury, however, and the people in general were determined to do all honour to the late primate. The King, happening to be at Canterbury at the time, overruled the codicil, and decreed that the body should be brought to Canterbury. There the obsequies were performed in the presence of the King of the principal nobility, of the bishops, abbots, and clergy, and a thousand spectators. It was a public funeral conducted on a scale of great magnificence. . . .

"There can be little doubt that the remains of Archbishop Courtenay lie at Canterbury, beneath the elaborate monument there raised to his memory."*

J. M. RUSSELL in 1881, in speaking of the College at Maidstone, says :—

"As to the place of Courtenay's burial, some uncertainty prevails, but the general opinion of recent writers upon the subject is that he was interred at Canterbury. . . . When his death occurred, preparations were no doubt immediately made to give effect to his last directions as to his funeral. But according to an obituary kept by the monks of Christ Church from 1486[+] to 1507, the King happened to be at Canterbury at the time, and overruling the codicil, decreed that the obsequies should take place within the Cathedral. The archbishop's body was consequently removed to Canterbury on the 4th of August, and there interred in the presence of the King, the nobles, the bishops and clergy, and eight or ten thousand spectators."‡

GEORGE SMITH in 1883, and speaking of Courtenay's funeral, says :—

"The Chapter of Canterbury and others, however, were desirous of doing all honour to the late Primate; and the King, being at Canterbury, overruled the codicil and commanded that the body should be brought to the Cathedral. The funeral was conducted with great magnificence, the King himself being present with the principal nobility, many bishops, abbots, and clergy, and a thousand spectators. 'Courtenay was entombed near the shrine of St Thomas,' at the feet of the Black Prince, of whose will he was one of the executors. The monument is an elaborate altar-tomb, upon which is the Archbishop's alabaster effigy in full pontificals."§

* Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (1865), vol. iv., pp. 392-397.

† A misprint for 1286.

‡ Russell's *History of Maidstone* (1881), pp. 75, 76.

§ Smith's *Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1883), p. 144.

Rev. WILLIAM HUNT in 1887 says of Courtenay's burial:—

“Courtenay died at Maidstone, Kent, on 31 July 1396. He left directions that he should be buried there, and a flat stone, part of an altar-tomb, in Maidstone Church is said to have been placed there in memory of him. It was probably intended that he should lie there; but his body was taken to Canterbury, and buried, in the presence of the King and of a great number of bishops, earls, and barons, at the feet of the Black Prince, near the shrine of St. Thomas.”*

Rev. J. CAVE-BROWNE in 1889 brought out his great *History of All Saints*, in which he stated the case for the Maidstone site with so much ability and force; and as the work is widely known and easily accessible, it will be only necessary here to quote the concluding paragraph of the author's powerful argument:—

“All then being taken into account, may not the opinion of the exploring party be unhesitatingly adopted, ‘that the Archbishop was really here deposited, as the Inscription, aided by tradition, strongly implies, and that the tale of the body having been conveyed to Canterbury by the King's command was fabricated by the Monks of the Priory of Christ Church, for the purpose of supporting, as they conceived, the credit and dignity of that Cathedral?’”†

MURRAY's *Handbook for Kent* in 1892, when speaking of the slab in the chancel of All Saints', Maidstone, says:—

“This is thought to have been a memorial of Abp. Courtenay, rebuilder of the ch., and, according to the leiger-book of Ch. Ch., Canterbury, actually interred at Canterbury, where his monument still exists adjoining that of the Black Prince. There is, however, some uncertainty as to the archbishop's real place of interment. The ground underneath the slab in Maidstone ch. was examined in 1794, when a skeleton was discovered at the depth of 6 ft.; but no ring or pastoral staff was found; and, from the perfect state of the teeth, the remains are thought to have been those of a younger man than Courtenay, who, however, certainly died at Maidstone. His own will directs his burial in the churchyard here, thereby adding a fresh difficulty. It seems not unlikely that the heart and intestines (as suggested by Mr. Beresford Hope) may have been interred here, and the body at Canterbury.”‡

* *Dictionary of National Biography* (1887), vol. xii., pp. 346, 347.

† *The History of the Parish Church of All Saints', Maidstone*, by J. Cave-Browne, M.A. (1889), p. 45.

‡ Murray's *Handbook for Kent* (1892), p. 198.

And when describing the tombs in the Trinity Chapel, Canterbury, the same authority says:—

“At the feet of the Black Prince is the monument of Abp. Courtenay, the severe opponent of the Wickliffites (d. 1396); why erected in this most distinguished place does not appear. He was, however, executor to the Black Prince, and a great benefactor to the cathedral.”*

Here, then, is a conflict of opinions, evidence, and deductions which may well puzzle a student of the subject, and make him despair of ever arriving at a satisfactory conclusion on it. In fact, the question had got into such a state of entanglement that any certainty in the matter seemed to be hopeless, and there appeared no prospect of a final solution to it, unless some further and very conclusive evidence either way were produced. Fortunately such evidence is forthcoming, and it exists in such a form that the claim of Canterbury Cathedral to contain the remains of Archbishop Courtenay is now established beyond the possibility of doubt.

The Author of the present Paper had occasion lately to examine the Canterbury Chapter Records for a purpose quite unconnected with this inquiry, and happened in his search to take up Register G, *Acta Sede vacante*, 1348—1414, which is thus described by the late Dr. Sheppard in the Appendix to the Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1881, p. 336 b:—

“Reg. G. The register G is a volume of 300 vellum folios each 12 by 9 inches. The pages are very closely written, and, as the title, ‘Sede vacante’ indicates, entirely taken up with one subject, the transactions, namely, of the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury during several vacancies of the Archiepiscopal See. The first vacancy here recorded is that which began with the death of Abp. Stratford in A.D. 1348, the last that which ended at the election of Abp. Chichele in 1413.”

The first entry in this venerable volume that arrested the attention of the writer was one which to his mind at once settled the long-disputed point as to the burial-place of Archbishop Courtenay, an impression fully confirmed by the ones immediately following it, which entries are here given in their proper sequence:—

I.

“Registrum venerabilis prioris domini Thome Chillyndene. Prioris ecclesie Cantuariensis et ejusdem loci Capituli de tempore

* Murray's *Handbook for Kent* (1892), p. 131.

vacacionis Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis post obitum pie memorie domini Willelmi Courtenay filii Comitis devonie qui ultimo die mensis Julii Anno domini millimo CCC^{mo} nonagesimo sexto in manerio de maydenston diem clausit extremum et de precepto domini Regis tunc Cantuarie versus mare existentis sepultus fuit in ecclesia Cantuariensi quarto die mensis Augusti tunc sequentis. Anno translationis ejusdem domini Archiepiscopi. xv^o.”*

II.

“Licentia eligendi petita,” of 3rd August 1396.†

III.

“Licentia eligendi concessa,” by Richard II. of 3rd August 1396.‡

IV.

“Decretum electionis,” of 7th August 1396.

“Conditores canonici deliberatione provida statuerunt quod ultra tres menses vacare non debeant ecclesie Cathedralis defuncto igitur bone memorie quondam Willelmo Courtenay ecclesie Cantuariensis predictae ultimo Archiepiscopo. . . . Corpore quoque dieti defuncti in eadem ecclesia die veneris quarta mensis Augusti supra-dieti omni reuerencia qua decuit ecclesiastice tradito sepulture.”§

V.

“Instrumentum super decreto electionis,” of 7th August 1396.||

VI.

“Litera missa domino Regi quod assentiat postulationi,” of 8th August 1396.

“Excellentissimo ac magnifico principi illustrissimoque domino nostro Ricardo Regi Anglie et ffrancie ac domino hibernie vestri humiles et devoti oratores Prior ecclesie Cantuariensis et ejusdem loci Capituli parati et vigiles ad reuerenciam omnimodam cum honore Bone memorie Willelmo de Courtenay ultimo Archiepiscopo nostro viam universalem carnis sicut deo placuit nuper ingresso et in presencia vestre regie magestatis et per vos ejusdem Archiepiscopi corpore ut decuit honorifice in ecclesia Cantuariensi supra-dicta tradito sepulture.”¶

The above extracts from this ancient and contemporary register speak for themselves, and so completely and decisively settle the site of Archbishop Courtenay’s burial-place, that we now know for certain that his remains lie beneath the beautiful monument in Canterbury Cathedral, and that there is no longer any need of opening it to set the question at rest, the only wonder about the matter being that these authoritative and convincing records should have hitherto escaped observation; and that those old writers like Camden, Somner, Battely, and Gostling, who touched on the subject, and who

* *Reg. G. Eccl. Cant. Acta Sede vacante*, fol. 235.

† *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.* || *Ibid.*, fol. 236-239. ¶ *Ibid.*, fol. 239.

had unrestricted access to the Cathedral records, should so have overlooked these crucial entries and allowed themselves to flounder about so much in mere conjecture is indeed surprising. The case is different with writers of our own time, as they would naturally rely in any search they might make on the fulness and accuracy of the indexes to the Registers prepared by the late Dr. Sheppard, but in which, when seeking for information about Courtenay's burial, they would, under the heading *Archiepiscoporum Electiones*, merely find the following meagre entries, viz.:—"1396 Copia testamenti Will. Courtenay Archiepi," and "1396 Obitus Will. Courtenay Archiepi;" and under that of *Nomina personarum (plerumque Clericorum beneficalorum et Officiariorum) in hoc Registro inventa*, "1396 Courtenay W. Archiepi copia testamenti;" while in Dr. Sheppard's preface to Register G. there is not a single reference to those crucial entries which absolutely settle the long disputed question of his burial-place. But although there is no longer a possibility of doubt as to the final resting-place of Courtenay's body, it may be interesting to examine one or two points in connection with it, and to endeavour to trace the reason why his remains should have been brought to Canterbury for interment, and also why no time was lost in the appointment of his successor in the Primacy.

By 1396 Richard II. was in imminent danger of losing his throne, and was therefore anxious to secure a lasting peace with France by marrying the daughter of Charles VI., so as to procure French assistance against his own rebellious subjects. He consequently pressed the matter on with all possible speed, and while staying at his palace at Eltham he received a confidential visit from his brother-in-law the Count de St. Pol, when the alliance was arranged, and it was settled that he should at once visit France to be betrothed to the young Princess and to sign the treaty; and while St. Pol was sent on rapidly to Paris to arrange matters, Richard followed him leisurely towards the sea, and appears to have arrived on 1st August at Canterbury, where he must have remained for about a week, as he did not reach Calais until the 9th. Courtenay had been languishing for some time at Maidstone, and Richard would certainly have been kept fully informed as to his condition, so that as soon as he knew that the sickness would terminate fatally he must have made up his mind how to act. He had doubtless wished to take the Archbishop over with him for the betrothal; but baulked of that object, he was determined to have a new Primate ready to accompany him for the marriage ceremony

which was so soon to follow, and he therefore took an extraordinary step—one that shocks all sense of propriety, and the reason for which has hitherto been a great puzzle. This was to commence proceedings for electing a successor to Courtenay before the latter was yet cold in his coffin, and still unburied, and to drive matters on without a moment's pause. The date of the entries above quoted shew this very clearly. Courtenay died on 31st July. Three days afterwards, on the 3rd August, the very day before the funeral, Richard got the Prior and Chapter to petition him to be allowed to elect a successor to the still unburied Primate. No feelings of decency restrained the headstrong King, and he lost no time in granting the request on the very same day, and there and then, within a few days, the obsequious Chapter met and proceeded to elect Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Why did Richard nominate Arundel to the vacant see, and urge on his election with such rapidity? Not so much, as Dean Hook suggests, to conciliate the magnates of the realm and the Arundels in particular—his subsequent conduct to the two brothers shewing how little he cared for any such thing—as it was to have a Primate ready at hand to marry him to the French princess. It must be remembered that time was pressing for the alliance which he hoped would support him against rebellion at home, and that it would never do to waste it by making an appointment which might be disallowed by the Pope. Arundel had been a bishop for twenty-two years, and Archbishop of York for the last eight. He belonged to the foremost family in the kingdom, and was besides in high favour with the Pope, so that there was no risk of the King having his intention thwarted by the nomination being cancelled at Rome, and he was secure of having a Primate to accompany him to France with as little delay as might be.

And now arises the most interesting question connected with this strange proceeding, viz., Why did Richard overrule Courtenay's express wish that he should be buried at Maidstone?—a question which had puzzled Dean Stanley and Murray when they wrote: "Why Archbishop Courtenay was brought into so august a company is not clear; it was against his own wish" (see *ante*), and "why [the monument was] erected in this most distinguished place does not appear" (see *ante*).

Richard must have felt the impropriety of the indecent haste with which he was proceeding, and what a slight he was thereby putting on poor Courtenay, so that he would

naturally be anxious to atone for this by giving him as sumptuous a burial as possible. Means were at hand to do this on a scale of the greatest magnificence. Canterbury Cathedral was available for the purpose, and the King himself was present to assist at the funeral, together with the Dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster and their Duchesses,* together with their children, and a great train of nobles and officials who were accompanying him. The site also which was selected in the Cathedral was one which would have done honour to royalty itself; and it was doubtless hoped that all this pomp and splendour would cover the indignity put on the departed by the very hasty election of his successor. Richard must also have felt that Courtenay was well worthy of such distinguished honour. He was a member of one of the noblest and most ancient families in the kingdom; royal blood had run in his veins; he had been a member of the council of government formed on his accession to the throne; and he had been his father's executor. The young King must also have had a grateful remembrance of his services in shielding him so often as he had done from the oppression of his violent and unscrupulous uncles; and likewise for having advocated in Parliament the French marriage at a time when it was extremely unpopular at home. His conscience must also have pricked him for some very ungrateful and unworthy conduct which he had once shewn to Courtenay, and for which he would doubtless have wished to atone as far as might be. But perhaps the strongest reasons which guided Richard in bringing Courtenay to Canterbury were his own love for magnificence and display, and a weakness which he seems to have had for attending and assisting at the funerals of deceased Prelates. Gough, quoting from Leland's *Itin.*, says of this: "Alexander Bach, bishop of St. Asaph, who died at Hereford, 1394, at the consecration of the Black Friars' Church, was buried in the choir of that church, Richard II. assisting in person at his funeral."† Such an opportunity for a display of himself was not to be neglected, and it cannot therefore be wondered at that Richard should have overruled Courtenay's dying request, and have had him laid to rest in his own Cathedral. The Prior and monks of Christ Church would doubtless have heartily seconded his directions in the matter, though we can scarcely fancy that

* The Duchess of York was likewise one of the party, but her husband the Duke of York having been appointed Regent of the kingdom during his nephew's absence abroad, probably remained behind.

† Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* (1796), vol. ii., part 2, p. clxix.

they were the first to move in it, as the headstrong King greatly resented having advice and suggestions given to him, it being much more probable that the change originated entirely with himself; and it is to be observed that the Prior and Chapter carefully note the fact that Courtenay was brought to Canterbury for interment by Richard's own order, as if it were to leave themselves safe in the matter.

Several other points of great interest arise out of this inquiry, such as the termination of Thorne's chronicle and the date of his death, the history of the leiger book of Christ Church, and the question as to the position of Courtenay's cenotaph at All Saints', Maidstone, in reference to the original chancel of that Church. Much information has been collected by the Author on these various points, but its consideration must be reserved for a subsequent Paper.

The Author gratefully acknowledges the kind assistance which he has received from Mr. H. Littlehales in tracing the movements of Richard II. at the time.

THE WILL OF WILLIAM COURTENAY, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1396.

EDITED BY LELAND L. DUNCAN, F.S.A.

ARCHBISHOP WILLIAM COURTENAY, whose will is here printed *in extenso* for the first time, was the fourth son of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, by Margaret, daughter of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward I.

Bishop first of Hereford (1369-70 to 1375) and then of London (1375), he was early marked out for further advancement, and after the murder of Archbishop Simon Sudbury by the rebels on 14th June 1381 he was elected to the vacant Primacy on 17th July of that year (Register G, Christ Church, Canterbury, folio 228).

His will, in which he styles himself "William Courtenay, unworthy minister of the holy church of Canterbury," commences with the usual committal of his soul, accompanied by full directions for his funeral. He wished to be buried in the Cathedral Church of Exeter, in the Nave before the Rood, but this arrangement was not carried out, as will be seen later. His father and mother were both interred at Exeter, and the connection of the family with Devonshire made it natural that he should wish to lie amongst his kindred in the West Country.

The Bishop of Exeter was to bury him, unless Archbishop Thomas Arundel of York should come according to an agreement made between them. In accordance with custom the torches used at the funeral were to be distributed to various altars, one being given to the Church of Exminster, in which parish he was born. A considerable space is taken up with a detail of the masses and other services to be said for his soul's welfare.

Having thus arranged for things spiritual, the Archbishop passes on to make his bequests, and in the first place he leaves the King, Richard the Second, his best cross and £100, with a protestation of his special regard and confidence. This expression of devotion is interesting, since we know that the Archbishop's plain speaking had deeply offended the King on more than one occasion. He also beseeches the King for the love of Christ, His most blessed Mother, and Saints John Baptist, Mary Magdalene, and Katherine, to see that his executors were not unjustly dealt with in the matter of dilapidations, either of the Church or of the manors belonging to the See, including the Castle of Saltwood. This last was a favourite place with Courtenay, who, in 1382, had obtained leave to pull down several other manor-houses of the Archbishopric and to build Saltwood Castle. Mention is made, in connection with the state of the various houses, of the earthquake which took place in May 1382, during a discussion on the Wycliffe heresies, and was regarded by the heretics as a divine interposition in their favour. (See Stubbs' *Const. History*, vol. iii., p. 368.)

Passing from these matters, he goes on to beg the King to take under his special protection his sister "Dangayne," *i.e.*, Katherine, wife of Sir Thomas Engayne, and this portion of the will ends with a direct appeal to his sovereign, whom he addresses as "his most dread, excellent, much to be trusted, and most loving lord."

Bequests to this favourite sister "Dangayne" fill the next section, and consist of certain books, stuffs, and plate, amongst the last two silver basins with the arms of Courtenay. To his brothers Philip and Peter and his sister Anne Courtenay he leaves bequests of money and plate.

To Richard Courtenay he leaves his best mitre, in case he should become a Bishop, and he also bequeaths to him several books. In default, the mitre is to go to Exeter Cathedral Church and the books to Canterbury. This Richard, whom the Archbishop calls "*filius et alumpnus meus*," was his nephew, being son of Sir Philip Courtenay by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Wake of Bisworth. He

lived to claim his uncle's bequest, since he became Bishop of Norwich.*

To William, another son of his brother Philip, he leaves a hundred marks.

From relations the Archbishop passes on to remember the many churches with which he was connected. The Metropolitcal Church of Canterbury naturally comes first, and in addition to several vestments he leaves £200 towards the rebuilding of a portion of the cloisters. The Prior, Thomas Chillenden, the Sub-Prior, and certain monks also receive mention. Vestments are also bequeathed to the Cathedral Church of Rochester.

Following these comes a long list of bequests to various persons, connections, friends, office-holders, and servants.

The Cathedral Churches of Exeter, London, Hereford, and the Church of Ottery St. Mary receive handsome legacies of vestments and plate. The Archbishop of York, Thomas Arundel, with whom he was on most friendly terms, the Bishops of Salisbury, London, Lincoln, Winchester, Exeter, and Bath and Wells, all receive books, jewels, or rings, and the heads of religious houses in the Diocese of Canterbury bequests of plate or money.

The advowsons of Kemsing in Kent and Cornewood in Devon, which he had acquired, were to be disposed of to the best advantage.

The executors named are Thomas Chillenden, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury; Adam de Mottrum, Archdeacon; Guy Mone, Rector of Maidstone; John Frenyngham, Esq.; William Baunton, Rector of Harrow; John Dodyngton, Rector of Crukern; Robert Hallum, Rector of Northfleet; and John Wotton, Rector of Staplehurst.

On the 28th July 1396 the Archbishop lay dying at Maidstone, and then expressed a wish to be buried in the graveyard there, since, as he said, he was not worthy to be interred within any cathedral or collegiate church; and he further desired his executors to expend somewhat on the

* He was in high favour with Henry V., and accompanied that King on his French expedition, and died in France in 1415. He was buried at Westminster in the Chapel of St. Edward. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

building of the Collegiate Church of that town. Three days later, on 31st July, he died.

As already stated by Mr. M. Beazeley in the preceding article, his wishes as to his resting-place were not respected, for he was carried to Canterbury, where Richard II. was staying at the time, and was buried there, eastward of the tomb of the Black Prince, on 4th August 1396. (Register G, Canterbury, folio 239^b.)

Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has pointed out to me that the record of the Archbishop's burial at Canterbury is confirmed by the displacement of the marble floor and step of the shrine platform for the making of his grave. When covering this in, the lengths of the step and the marble slabs were relaid indiscriminately, and pieces of white stone were used on account of a deficiency of marble. All this is plainly to be seen in the floor on the north side of the Archbishop's tomb.

The full text of his will, which for convenience has been broken up into paragraphs, is as follows:—

TESTAMENTUM OMNE WILLIELMI COURTENAY,
ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS.

(Register G, Christ Church, Canterbury, folio 260^a.)

In nomine et honore Sancte et Indiuide Trinitatis Patris et filii et Spiritus Sancti Amen. Ego Willielmus Courtenay Sancti Cantuariensis ecclesie minister indignus sanus per dei gratiam mente et corpore, considerans tamen fragilitatem condicionis humane et qualiter omni creature tam sublimi quam humili pretenuibus suo cursu diebus presentis vite finis apparebit preuenire cupio quantum michi ex alto permittitur diem mortis mee et de bonis meis deliberata ordinacione disponere vnde de meipso et rebus a deo sola sua bonitate michi nullis precedentibus meritis collatis animo condendi testamentum sic ordino et dispono ac testamentum meum facio in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam omnipotenti deo creatori ac redemptori meo subiiciens me et ipsam misericordie sue cuius non est numerus corpus vero quod corrumpitur et aggrauatur animam volo quod sepeliatur ita celeriter sicut fieri poterit bono modo in naui ecclesie Cathedralis Exoniensis in loco vbi nunc iacent tres decani seriatim coram summa cruce non inuitando ad hoc magnos dominos sed solummodo Episcopum vel viciniore et Volo quod Episcopus loci me sepeliat nisi venerit venerabilis frater meus Dominus Thomas dei gratia Eboracensis Archiepiscopus Anglie primus iuxta pactum alias inter nos initum in cuius euentum rogo confratrem meum Episcopum Exoniensem qui pro tunc erit et omnes de sua ecclesia et diocesi quatinus ob reuerenciam dei et ecclesie

illius atque exilium precum mearum sibi omnem reuerenciam honorem et humanitatem exhibeant.

Volo itaque quod illi tres decani qui remoti erunt ratione sepulture mee in aliquo alio loco honorifico eiusdem ecclesie sepeliantur meis omnino sumptibus et expensis.

Item volo quod in sepultura mea sint septem torches vnus ad caput et alter ad pedes ardentes circa corpus meum et quod uterque eorum sit ponderis xx^{li}. Item volo quod quadraginta torticii eodem die illuminentur ad honorem Corporis Christi et sic ardeant in missa beate virginis et alta missa et aliis missis celebrandis die sepulture mee ac eciam in crastino si aliquem prelatum contigerit celebrare volo eciam quod concordia fiat cum thesaurario ecclesie Exoniensis presenti vel futuro pro omnibus spectantibus ad eum ratione luminarum ardentium in die sepulture mee. Ita quod cum bona voluntate contentetur [*sic*] exinde de illis autem luminaribus et torticiis habita prius inde concordia volo quod quatuor torticii remaneant ad vsum summi altaris prefate ecclesie Exoniensis et quatuor ad vsum capelle beate virginis ipsius ecclesie et quod cuicumque altari in ipsa ecclesia vnus torticius remaneat vbi in dicta ecclesia consuete sacerdotes celebrant missas. Si vero altare beate Katerine ibi fuerit volo quod duo torticii remaneant ad vsum altaris eiusdem duo eciam ad vsum altaris vbi Reuerendissimi parentes mei sepeliuntur et quatuor torticii ecclesie parochiali sancti Martini de Exmynster vbi natus fueram et volo quod fiat vnum vestimentum de bono panno cerico cum vna capa casula tunica et tribus albis cum amicis et fanonis et quod in mei memoriam predictae ecclesie conferantur.

Item volo quod Canonici vicarii secundarii choriste et alii presbiteri interessentes exequiis meis die sepulture mee iuxta gradus eorum et disposicionem executorum meorum remunerentur et simili modo fiat sacerdotibus et aliis religiosis infra eandem ciuitatem.

Item lego cuilibet pauperi venienti ad exequias meas vnum denarium.

Item volo quod quam cito fieri poterit post mortem meam pro anima mea et animabus patris matris fratrum et sororum meorum defunctorum et aliorum amicorum et benefactorum meorum necnon pro animabus eorum de quibus bona habui vel de quorum bonis in tota vita mea intromisi et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum quindecim milia missarum celebrentur cum collectis quas dicendas duxerim in euentum.

Item volo quod duo milia matutinarum dicantur de omnibus sanctis cum nouem lectionibus ac pleno seruicio sicut dicuntur matutine in festo eorundem et quod quilibet dicens plenum seruicium vj denarios percipiat pro labore.

Missas vero predictas sic fore celebrandas dispono primo videlicet quod mille misse celebrentur de Trinitate, de Sancto Spiritu mille de corpore Christi mille de Assumpcione beate virginis mille de natiuitate eiusdem mille de Angelis mille de natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi mille de Epiphania mille de festo purificationis beate Marie mille de Anunciacione dominica mille de resurrectione Domini nostri Iesu Christi mille de Ascensione mille cum deuocione debita

celebrentur. Et volo quod in missis huiusmodi dicantur Gloria in excelsis deo Credo et sequencie si tempus anni hoc permisserit Alioquin dicantur Credo et sequencie in qualiter missa supradicta.

Item lego excellentissimo Domino meo Regi Ricardo optimam Crucem meam et C^{li} vt sit post mortem meam specialis dominus meus sicut erat in vita specialissimus Dominus meus in quo super omnes mortales semper confidebam et confido quem eciam deuotissime deprecor et exoro quatinus de benignitati et bonitate sibi innatis velit esse Dominus protector et adiutor pauperum familiarum mearum in eorum iusticia cum fauore quociens eos ad excellentissimam dignitatem suam pro optinendo refugio indigeant conuolare.

Rogo eciam eundem excellentissimum metuendissimum ac confidentissimum Dominum meum Regem pro amore Domini Iesu Christi ac beatissime Marie virginis matris sue neonon sancti Johannis Baptiste sanctarumque Marie Magdelane et Katherine ac omnium sanctorum quatinus dignetur Executoribus meis manus apponere adiutrices ne Successor meus michi aut eis iniurietur aut pro reparacionibus quicquam plus debito petat pie et iuste si placeat habendo respectum in quo statu ecclesiam et maneria mea vna cum castro meo Saltwode inueni et qualiter subsequenter non obstante terremotu non sine grauibus et sumptuosis expensis sicut nouit Prior meus et seniores et saniores Capituli atque valenciores tocius diocesis ipsa pro meo posse et tempore reparaui prout executores mei vestram celsitudinem informabunt quibus aurem excellencie vestre inclinare dignemini amore illius qui nemini in sua indigencia claudit viscera pietatis. In iusticia enim et equitate vestris tantum confisus fiat voluntas vestra. Lego insuper et relinquo metuendissime maiestati vestre ipsius deuotissimam seruitricem atque oratricem carissimam et vnicam sororem meam Dangayne Supplicans humiliter et deuote quatinus eandem in hac valle miserie sub alis excellentissime protectionis vestre custodire fouere atque protegere dignemini intuitu caritatis. O Domine mi metuendissime, O Domine mi excellentissime, O Domine mi confidentissime et amantissime ab armariolo pectoris vestri promissa queso nullatenus expellantur sed potius specialitatis et pietatis titulo includantur.

Item lego predictae Sorori mee CC^{li} et modicum missale meum cum panno Satyn rubio coopertum. Item lego eidem altare meum de albo panno cerico stragulato vna cum tabula Domini mei de Islep et meliori calice meo cum corporali de salutacione angelica quod habui ex dono Domini Thesaurarii Anglie et tabula pacis michi data per dominam matrem meam quam bene nouit Dominus Johannes Glin. Item lego eidem sorori mee duos pannos cericos de popeiays intextos vt inde faciat vestimenta ecclesiastica. Item lego sibi portiforium meum quod habui ex dono Domini mei Wyntoniensis Episcopi et duos meliores cruetes argenteos deauratos et duos alios. Item lego sibi xxiiij. discos argenteos meliores sex garnatos siue chargeours, xx salsabilia et tria paria meliora colearia. Item lego sibi duas pelues argenteas cum cignis* sculptis in medio et duo lauacra eisdem congruencia meliora. Item lego eidem alias duas

* The swan was his badge.

pelues argenteas que sunt apud Slyndon cum armis de Courtenay. Item lego sibi ciphum aureum rotundum ad similitudinem pennarum factum quem habui ex dono Domini mei Regis vt de eodem in mei memoriam bibat.

Item lego domino Philippo fratri meo xlii cum meliori ciphodeaurato ac cooperculo et vno ewer.

Item lego domino Petro fratri meo xlii.

Item lego sorori mee domine Anne de Courtenay xxlii et vnum ciphum deauratum cum cooperculo secundum discrecionem executorum meorum.

Item lego carissimo filio et Alumpno meo Ricardo Courtenay* Centum marcas absque aliqua condicione. Item lego eidem optimam mitram meam in casu quo fuerit Episcopus. Et volo quod mitra illa sit in custodia decani et Capituli Exoniensis quousque prefatus Ricardus fuerit in Episcopatum promotus et, si contingat ipsum decedere antequam ad presulatus apicem assumatur, lego eandem mitram vsui ecclesie Cathedralis Exoniensis sub condicione et sub pena prohibens anathematis quod nunquam mutuetur seu alienetur vel extra dictam ecclesiam deportetur seu ad alicuius vsum impugneretur seu alienetur quouismodo Sed perpetuo ibi remaneat ad vsum cuiuscumque Episcopi ibi volentis ad honorem dei et ecclesie celebrare.

Item lego eidem Ricardo in casu quo clericus esse velit et ad sacerdocium promoueri librum meum dictionarium in tribus voluminibus contentum vna cum Kalendari eiusdem. Item lego eidem milleloquium sancti Augustini et pulcrum librum meum qui lira vocatur in duobus voluminibus contentum sub ista tamen condicione quod si infra sacros extiterit libros illos habeat pro tempore vite sue et volo quod post mortem suam vel si quod absit ad mundum redierit quod omnes predicti libri sancte ecclesie Cantuariensi per modum legati remaneant et integraliter restituantur eidem sub benedictione districtius iniungens quod libros illos sine deturpacione custodiat. Et uolo quod ad eius manus deueniant quousque in artibus inceperit vel bacallarius in iure Ciuili fuerit aut decretis.

Item lego filiolo meo Willielmo Courtenay filio fratris mei Domini Philippi Centum marcas si perueniat ad etatem xij annorum.

Item lego Centum marcas distribuendas inter ceteros filios et filias fratris mei domini Philippi iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum ad commodum eorumdem.

Item lego ecclesie mee metropolitanæ pulcherimam et optimam capam meam rubram cum perles debrandatam.

Item lego eidem ecclesie mee viride vestimentum meum aureum cum ceruis albis intextum cum aurifragio et archangelis et toto apparatu videlicet septem capis.

Item lego eidem ecclesie mee melius vestimentum meum album de auro cum ceruis siue rubris bestiis diasperatis cum vij capis eiusdem secte.

* Son of Philip Courtenay, the Archbishop's brother.

† See page 104 *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, by W. H. St. John Hope and J. Wickham Legg, now in the press.

Item lego CC^{li} et plus iuxta disposicionem executorum meorum et secundum informacionem ministrandum per eos pro noua factura siue constructione vnius pane claustrī ab hostio palacii vsque in ecclesiam se rectotramite extendentis.

Item lego priori ecclesie mee Cantuariensis videlicet Domino Thome Chillyndensi fidelissimo amico meo ciphum meum argenteum siue bollam qui erat ciphus Reuerendissimi domini et patris mei de quo solebat ipse bibere et antecessores sui ac ego dum agebam in humanis Rogans quatinus in mei memoriam de eodem bibere velit et quod successores sui post mortem eciam in mei memoriam vtantur eodem.

Item lego eidem priori meo xlii vel verum valorem earumdem.

Item lego sibi et successoribus suis aulam et cameram integram cum lecto brandato et toto apparatu penes custodem mei palacii remanente.

Item lego Suppriori meo in eadem ecclesia vt oret pro me C^s.

Item cuilibet monacho confratri meo sacerdote in eadem ecclesia xx^s. Item cuilibet monacho non sacerdote in eadem ecclesia xiiij^s iiiij^d et volo quod monachi Collegii mei Oxoniensis comprehendantur in numero cum eisdem.

Item lego Domino Waltero Causton monacho eiusdem ecclesie x marcas.

Item lego ecclesie Cathedrali Roffensi album vestimentum meum stragulatū cum quinque capis eiusdem secte.

Item lego Domino Hugoni Lutterell* nepoti meo Centum marcas et vxori sue moderne vnum ciphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum.

Item lego Hugoni Stafford aliquid iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum.

Item lego Johanni Lutterell xx marcas et Willielmo Lutterell filiolo meo xx marcas.

Item lego magistro Ade de Mottrum† Cancellario meo xx^{li} vel verum valorem earumdem magna decreta mea in quibus solebam studere et pulcrum librum sextum.

Item lego Domino Guidoni Monē† Centum marcas quas olim sibi promisi pro sua residencia quas volo quod habeat vel verum valorem earumdem siue resideat siue non.

Item lego magistro Waltero Gibbes speculum meum indiciale et xx marcas vel verum valorem earumdem.

Item lego magistro Roberto Hallum decretales meas vna cum sexto libro in fine et xx marcas vel verum valorem earumdem xx marcarum.

Item lego magistro Henrico Brony viginti marcas vel verum valorem earumdem.

Item lego cuilibet sacerdote Capelle mee promoti et non promoti xx marcas vel verum valorem earumdem.

Item lego Domino Johanni Wotton† xx marcas et vnum ciphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo.

* Son of his sister Elizabeth, wife of Sir Andrew Luttrell.

† His executors.

Item lego Domino Ricardo Lentwardyn tantum. Item lego Domino Laurencio Hawkyn xx marcas et domino Johanni Gline xx marcas. Item lego Thome Scodier xx marcas et liberatam quam habui hoc anno de Domino meo Rege.

Item lego Salesbury clerico Capelle mee x^{li}. Item Willielmo Motte x^{li}. Item lego cuilibet puero Capelle mee ad orandum pro anima mea v marcas Ita quod Willielmus de elemosinaria sit vnus inter eos et habeat v marcas.

Item lego Nicholao Weston armigero meo xl marcas et meliorem robam meam quam duxerit eligendam. Item lego Roberto Seymour cognato meo xx^{li} et secundam meliorem robam meam quam duxerit eligendam. Item lego Johanni Frenyngham* xx marcas et vnum ciphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo suo statui congruenter. Item Johanni Culpeper vnum ciphum deauratum cum cooperculo et vno aquario competente statui suo vel aliquid aliud iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum.

Item lego Willielmo Hansom xx^{li} et terciam meliorem robam quam duxerit eligendam. Item lego Ricardo Hidon x marcas. Item Henrico Casteleyn x marcas. Item Johanni Hope x marcas. Item Ricardo Trist et vxori sue xx marcas. Item lego Johanni Boteler xx^{li} et quartam meliorem robam meam quam duxerit eligendam. Item lego Gerardo x marcas. Item paruulis Brokhull et Waleys aliquid iuxta disposicionem executorum meorum. Item lego Willielmo Barrok x marcas.

Item Waltero Faukoner x marcas. Item lego Rose Mounfort par meum paternosters de auro que fuerunt domine matris mee vt eis vtatur et pro me oret.

Item Christiane commoranti cum sorore mea Dangayne v marcas ad orandum pro me. Item Juliane seruianti eiusdem sororis mee iiiij marcas.

Item Thome Burgh xx^{li} et vnam robam non legatam iuxta disposicionem executorum meorum. Item lego Johanni valetto de camera mea C^s. Item lego Willielmo Pope C^s. Item lego Willielmo Seger v marcas et Thome Porter de Lambeth xl^s. Item lego cuilibet valetto meo commoranti mecum in hospitio meo si sit de familia mea tempore mortis mee C^s. Item Henrico de camera mea xl^s. Item Johanni socio suo ij marcas. Item cuilibet garcioni de meis xl^s et cuilibet pagetto xx^s.

Item lego magistro Johanni Barnet Officio Curie mee Cantuariensis vnum ciphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo.

Item lego magistro Michaeli Sergeaux decano meo in ecclesia beate Marie de Arcubus London vnum ciphum argenteum deauratum cum cooperculo secundum status eorum.

Item lego magistro Johanni Prophet x^{li} et vnum librum clementinarum meliorem.

Item magistro Johanni Lynton x^{li}. Item Willielmo Baunton* xx marcas. Item Domino Johanni Dodyngton* xx marcas. Item lego Roberto Wilford, Otoni Chambernonii et Agneti uxori sue cuilibet eorum vnum ciphum iuxta disposicionem executorum meorum. Item lego magistro Willielmo Trevellis x marcas et vnum ciphum

* His executors.

valoris quinque marcarum. Item lego magistro Nicholao Hereford dumdietatem pecunie quam michi debet vt pro me oret.

Item Domino Ricardo Cicester alias Gardiner de viginti libris in quibus michi tenetur per suam obligacionem x^{li}.

Item lego magistro Ricardo Broun vnum ciphum deauratum cum cooperculo iuxta disposicionem executorum meorum et x^{li}. Item lego fratri Bartholomew de ordine minorum x marcas. Item lego magistro Johanni Cateby vnum ciphum deauratum cum cooperculo suo statui congruentem et volo quod satisfiat sibi pro expensis suis.

Item volo quod magister Robertus Bradgar remuneretur pro labore suo iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum quia fidelis semper erat michi et nunquam voluit aliquid de me recipere. Item lego Domino Thome vnum ciphum competentem deauratum iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum.

Item lego ecclesie Cathedrali Exoniensi rubeum vestimentum meum diasperatum cum stellis aureis et quinque capas* eiusdem secte et duo turribilia cum armis Domini mei Regis et armis meis que habui de dono Domini mei Regis cum meliori naui pro incenso cum coeliari. Item lego eidem ecclesie vestimentum meum russetum diasperatum cum falconibus de auro cum quinque capis eiusdem secte. Item lego eidem ecclesie ad vsum magni altaris duas pelues argenteas deauratas quas habui de dono Domini mei Wygorniensis et volo quod arma mea ponantur in fundo earundem.

Item lego ecclesie Cathedrali Londinensi† vnum vestimentum meum specialissimum aureum cum tribus capis eiusdem secte cum duabus albis paruris stolis et manipulis et duas pelues argenteas deauratas quas habui de dono fratris Hilbrandi militis et magistri hospitalis Jerusalem commorantis apud Clerkenwell ad vsum magni altaris prefate ecclesie London et volo quod arma mea ponantur in eisdem.

Item lego ecclesie Cathedrali Herefordensi vnum vestimentum album cum draconibus de auro diasperatum cum tunica dalmatica et tribus capis eiusdem secte cum duabus albis paruris stolis manipulis et duas albas capas cum auro diasperatas et non sunt plures de illa secta quia Dominus Philippus frater meus habuit de me terciam. Item lego eidem ecclesie pontificalem librum meum quem emi de executoribus Domini Johannis de Grandissono. Item lego eidem ecclesie duas pelues argenteas ad vsum magni altaris cum armis Domini mei Regis in fundo sed volo quod ibi ponantur arma mea.

Item lego ecclesie sancte Marie de Otery nigrum vestimentum meum cum casula tunica dalmatica et vna capa eiusdem secte que fuerunt Domini Johannis de Grandissono quondam Episcopi Exoniensis et meliorem calicem meum deauratum non legatum cum ij cruetis argenteis deauratis melioribus non legatis.

Item lego venerabili fratri meo Domino Thome Dei gratia Eboracensi Archiepiscopo Anglie primati vnam crucem auream cum lapidibus preciosis habentem in dorso pallium et sub pallio pulcrum partem ligni dominici quam crucem habui de Domino meo Rege.

* See p. 338 *Lives of Bishops of Exeter*, by Geo. Oliver, D.D.

† See *Archæologia*, vol. I., p. 501. "Inventories of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul." by Sparrow Simpson, D.D.

Item lego eidem venerabili fratri meo pulera decreta mea corio rubeo cooperta.

Item lego venerabili fratri meo Domino Johanni* Dei gratia Sarum Episcopo vnam crucem auream cum margaritis et lapidibus preciosis cum pulera parte ligni dominici nigri et vnum pulcrum missale quod habui de dono venerabilis fratris mei Domini Thome Dei gratia Archiepiscopi Eboracensis.

Item lego venerabili fratri meo Domino Roberto† Dei gratia Londinensi Episcopo vnam crucem auream ornatam cum lapidibus preciosis et margaritis et cum parte ligni dominici quam habui de executoribus domine mee matris Regis et vnum missale nouum coopertum panno aureo de damasco quod Gerardus armiger meus scripsit.

Item lego venerabili fratri meo Domino Johanni‡ Dei gratia Lincolnensi Episcopo melius iocale meum aureum non legatum.

Item lego venerabili fratri meo Domino Willielmo§ Wyntoniensi Episcopo secundum meum melius iocale aureum non legatum.

Item lego venerabili fratri meo Domino Edmundo|| Dei gratia Exoniensi Episcopo magnum portiforium meum notatum quod habui de prefato venerabili fratre meo Archiepiscopo Eboracensi.

Item lego Domino Radulpho¶ Dei gratia Bathoniensi et Wellensi Episcopo vnum anulum cum rubina quem habui de executoribus bone memorie Domini Simonis predecessoris mei et pulcrum psalterium meum panno deaurato coopertum.

Item lego Abbati et Conuentui de Feuersham mee diocesis x^{li}. Item Abbati et Conuentui de Boxle x^{li}. Item Abbati et Conuentui de Langedon C^s. Item Abbati et Conuentui sancte Radegundis C^s.

Item Priori et Conuentui de Ledes x^{li} et vnum pulcrum calicem deauratum. Item priori et Conuentui sancti Gregorii Cantuar. x^{li} et vnum calicem deauratum. Item priorisse et Conuentui sancti Sepulcri Cantuar. x^{li}. Item Priori et Conuentui Douorr viginti libras et vestimentum meum rubeum cericum cum albis leonibus diasperatum cum sex capis eiusdem secte. Item priori et Conuentui de Bilsington C^s. Item prioratu de Combewelle C^s. Item priorisse et Conuentui de Scapeia xx^{li}. Item Priorisse et Conuentui de Davynton prope Feuersham x^{li}. Item priori et Conuentui de Merton Wyntoniensis diocesis xx^{li}. Item priori et Conuentui de Bermondeseye xx^{li}. Item lego consanguinee mee domine Elizabeth moniali de Canonle x marcas. Item priorisse et Conuentui de Polslo Exoniensis diocesis x^{li}. Item fratri Thome Palmer prouinciali fratrum ordinis predicatorum x marcas vt oret pro me. Item lego cuilibet domui fratrum mendicancium mee diocesis v marcas. Item lego pauperibus de Northgate v marcas. Item pauperibus de Herboldoune v marcas.

* John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury 1388 to 1395.

† Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London 1381 to 1404.

‡ John Bokingham, Bishop of Lincoln 1362 to 1398.

§ William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester 1367 to 1404.

|| Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter 1395 to 1419.

¶ Ralph Erghum, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1388 to 1400.

Item recluso in Crukern Wellensis diocesis v marcas. Item recluso de Shirbourn xl^s. Item cuilibet recluso infra prouinciam meam xl^s.

Item volo et precipio quod debita mea ante omnia soluantur et quod cuicumque iuste querelanti de iniuria per me sibi facta fiat satisfactio.

Et si aliqua bona supersint rogo executores meos propter viscera misericordie domini nostri Ihesu Christi quod illa meliori modo quo poterint vel sciuerint expendantur ad salutem anime mee atque aliarum animarum in testamento meo prenominatarum.

Volo insuper quod de Domino de Tunbrigg et de firma mea manerii de Cherleton disponent executores mei meliori modo quo sciuerint pro salute anime mee.

Item de patronatibus duarum ecclesiarum per me adquisitarum videlicet de Kemsyng in comitatu Kancie et de Cornewode in Comitatu Deuonie meliori modo quo sciuerint faciant et disponent.

Et rogo executores meos subscriptos eosque per viscera matris misericordie et aspersionem sanguinis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi deprecor et adiuro quatinus omnis administrationis bonorum meorum et execucionis presentis testamenti siue mee vltime voluntatis omni voluntaria excusacione cessante in se suscipiant et adiunctant ac contenta in eodem cum modestis et absque voluptuosis expensis pro eorum posse fideliter exequantur vt ab omni retributore bonorum vitam percipiant sempiternam.

Si vero quod absit aliquis subscriptorum executorum meorum cuius execucionis presentis testamenti siue mee vltime voluntatis admittere et subire recusauerit volo quod sibi legatis careat eoipso.

Volo eciam et ordino quod omnes et singuli legatarii supradicti Sorore mea et consanguineis meis duntaxat exceptis verum valorem summarum pecuniarum vt permittitur legatarum eisdem si hoc executoribus meis placuerit percipiant et habeant bono modo. Ad hanc itaque meam vltimam voluntatem fideliter exequendam et adimplendam ordino et facio executores meos dilectissimum in Christo filium dominum Thomam Chillinden priorem mee Ecclesie Cantuariensis ac confidentissimos in Christo filios Magistrum Adam de Mottrum Archidiaconum meum Dominum Guidonem Mone Rectorem Ecclesie de Maydenston Johannem Frenyngham armigerum Dominum Willielmum Baunton Rectorem Ecclesie de Harwe Johannem Dodyngton Rectorem Ecclesie de Crukern Magistrum Robertum Hallum Rectorem Ecclesie de Northflete Dominum Johannem Wotton Rectorem Ecclesie de Stapilherst.

(Folio 264.) The above will was proved "in capella manerii de Lamheth" on 15 September 1396. The executors swore:—

Quod suprascriptum testamentum fuit et est verum testamentum pie et recolende memorie Domini Willielmi nuper dei gratia dum vixit Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis iam defuncti nisi quatenus per codicillum subsequenter eidem testamento derogatur videlicet quod

xxviiij die mensis Julii proxime preterito idem Reuerendissimus Pater languens in extremis in interiori camera manerii de Maydenston Cantuarien. dioc. voluit et ordinauit quod quia non reputauit se dignum vt dixit in sua metropolitana aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata ecclesia sepeliri voluit et elegit sepulturam suam in Cimiterio ecclesie Collegiate de Maydenston in loco designato Johanni Botelere armigero suo.

Item idem Reuerendissimus pater voluit et dixit et ordinauit quod debita sua soluerentur et quod legata sua scripta in testamento prescripto quo ad familiares soluerentur voluit eciam idem Reuerendissimus pater et dixit quod legata in dicto testamento quo ad extraneos legatarios defalcarentur iuxta discrecionem executorum meorum quodque residuum bonorum suorum remanens vltima debita et legata expenderetur iuxta disposicionem executorum suorum circa constructionem ecclesie Collegiate de Maydenston.

I desire to express my great obligation to Mr. M. Beazeley, F.R.G.S., Honorary Librarian of Canterbury Cathedral, for his kindness in comparing my transcript with the original, and aiding me with suggestions on one or two doubtful points.

SUSPECTED PERSONS IN KENT.

BY A. RHODES.

WHILE engaged in making some researches to annotate a list of certain Kentish tokens, I came across seven volumes formerly in the possession of Ralph Thoresby the antiquary, to whom they were presented by Robert Kitchingham, a merchant of Leeds. How they came into the possession of the latter it is impossible to say; their proper depository should be the Record Office. Though the series is incomplete, these volumes possess a certain value as throwing a vivid side light on the history of that period by revealing the elaborate system adopted by the Commonwealth for the registration of the movements of those suspected of Royalist sympathies, and they have special claim on the attention of the local historian, besides being useful in a biographical or genealogical sense. They are now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 34,011-17), where they are described as "Returns made by the various Major-Generals and their Deputies presiding over the Military Districts into which the Protector Cromwell divided the country in 1655." From these Returns I have extracted all the entries relating to Kent, supplemented by another volume (Add. MSS. 19,516), one of three, the other two being missing.

Coming to the registration system we find that the local registrars forwarded lists of "suspected persons" to an office in London. The names of these were entered under counties in rough alphabetical order. The volume containing Kent is Add. MSS. 34,013, and the names are entered from four lists, the nature of which cannot be explained, nor does it seem to be of any consequence. I have marked all these extracts A. When one of the suspects travelled, the Registrar forwarded to the office in London the address where the traveller intended to lodge. These particulars were entered in a book (Add. MSS. 34,014) which I have marked B; and so minute was the supervision that a removal from a lodging in one part of Fleet Street to another was duly recorded (see HORTON KIRBY). On the arrival of the traveller in London he had to certify to the central office the place of his lodging, and his arrival was notified to the Major-General commanding his county, as was the date of his removal or departure. Add. MSS. 19,516 is a "Booke of such Letters as from tyme to tyme have been sent from this Office to the Maior generalls of ye respective Associations of the Several Counties of this Nation." Extracts

from this book I have marked C. The office was at the "Three Kings" in Fleet Street, as appears from the following letter:—

Mr REYNOLDS,

Yours of the 5th [May 1656] present I received directed to me at the golden cock on Ludgate Hill, a place vtterly vnkown to me, nor to be found by any person you gave such direction vnto. From my house at the 3 Kings in fleet stret.

This Reynolds was the "Registrar for receiving appearances of persons landing from forreigne parts at Dover," and his answer to this was not considered satisfactory, as it evoked a further official remonstrance:—

21 May 1656.

Mr REYNOLDS,

To what purpose should I give you such particular notice of the Street and Signe from whence I send my Letters but for yo^r Information where yo^r returnes will finde mee out, and for your Excuse implying you might notwithstanding suppose the Office to be elsewhere; it would haue had some satisfaction therein, if after you had such a hint of the place whence I sent my letters, you had informed persons engaged to appeare that if they had been disappointed in one place they might have found mee in the other: but for the future there will I hope bee no occasion of such kind of writing as this, but having heard well of you from Mr Price, you may alsoe heare from mee as from

yo^r very loving friend.

Subsequently he received (in company with Mr. Tidey, the Registrar at Rye) a request, with the first part of which we can all agree, viz., to write "with a more plaine and legible hand, without which it is not easie to read names of persons or places; and alsoe that you would send the name of the parish, street, and house where persons intending for London purpose to lodge."

Mr. John Kingsland, the Registrar at Deal, was likewise reminded that he had omitted to mention the house, street, and parish of such of those sent in his list as intend to lodge in and about London. On 23 September 1656 a "Newe Booke" is sent to Mr. Reynolds, and a memorandum that "what he has intimated about the return of a banisht person from the Barbadoes shall be remembered." The Registrar at Gravesend was named Pelling. The following is the form of the letters to the Major-Generals:—

Hon^{ble} S^r,

John Trowte of ffaversham in y^e Countie of Kent, Gent., the 7th p'sent p'sonally gave notice of y^e place of his Lodging a' Also of his Intension on this day or to Morrow the 8th p'sent to return to ffaversham aforesd. I only Add

Honble. S^r,

London, 7th ffebru. 1655-[6].

Yo^r humble Servant.

These To his hon^{ble} frend Coll^l Kelsey, Ma. Gen^l for y^e Counties of Kent & Surrey, p'sent.

And the form of entry of abode will be seen under HORTON KIRBY; sometimes the entry specifies that the notification to the office has been made in person (see FAVERSHAM, ULCOMBE). Not

only were the movements of residents minutely traced, but those of officials passing through on State affairs:—

12 Feb. 1655-[6].

John Lord Bellasio on ye 15 p'sent gave notice of ye place of his Lodging, and likewise of his Lordp's Intention from Kente to remoue vpon Monday or Teusday next towards Dover or Rie to imbarke himselfe for ffrance, by reason of a licence from his highnesse Councell dated ye 12th p'sent.

Also Thomas Cauty, Meniall Serv^t, to attend his Lordship.

21 Aug. [1656].

Charles Gibbons of St. Clement's Dane on the 18th gave notice of his intention to remoue to Gravesend, and from thence the day following to Dover, and thence to imbarque himself for Callice in France by a Lyeence under the hand and seale of the Lord Fleetwood, late Ld. Dept. of Ireland.

For convenience of reference I have arranged the matter alphabetically under the names of places, putting all the available items under one heading, with the name from A, the place of lodging from B, and removals from C. Curious as some of the information is, unfortunately the series is incomplete: A contains names only; B, the most interesting, concludes on 11 June. There were two other volumes, for Add. MSS. 34,017 is an index of names with references to two volumes missing from the series. The remaining notices of removal are taken from C.

A glance at the list will exhibit some names of which there is nothing beyond their entry in the lists as suspects; on the other hand, names occur in the removals which are not in the lists. One list also supplies the deficiency of another; for instance, Pordage is entered in A as "of Preston," but the particular Preston is identified by C as "neere Faversham" (see also MARGATE).

These travels might serve as a guide in many instances to one searching for a register of marriage or death, as it is just possible that frequent journeys to one place might indicate an amorous errand as well as professional business, and an invalid, say at Tunbridge, might never return to his earthly home. For this reason I have thought it advisable to include all those moving into Kent (see TUNBRIDGE, SUTTON.) It was at one time my intention to have annotated each name wherever possible by biographical or topographical details; and although I gathered many interesting items, I abandoned the task as requiring more time and labour than I could devote to it. A few hints only have been inserted to clear up some dubious points.

ASH.—John Solley, yeoman.

A

John Solley issued a token at Wingham, No. 569, in Kent (Boyne's *Seventeenth Century Tokens*, Second Edition).

AYLESFORD.—John Taylor, yeoman.

A

BENEDEN.—Stephen Ginder, gent.

A

BETHERSDEN.—Francis Whitfield, gent.

A

BEXLEY.—Richard Wood, chandler.

A

George Cooke. Was in London 18 Nov. 1656.

C

- BONNINGTON.**—Charles Boys, Esq. A
 7 Feb. 1656, lodged at the house of Mr Browne, a Barbour, next Dore to Essex House in ye p^{ish} of Clement Dane. 14 Feb., gave notice of his intention to remove back to Bonnington. B
 12 Feb., John Boys, Esq., is entered in C, but this may be a mistake.
- BORDEN.**—
 Ralph Clarke, gent. A
 15 April 1656, at the Katherine Wheel in Southwark, at the house of Mrs. . . . Widow. B
 John Greenstead, gent. A
 John Lake, yeoman. A
 23 April 1656, entered as Luke, at the house of Henry Booth in Chick Lane, Cooke. B
 James Rayner, gent. A
 24 April 1656, in Cross Key Lane, at ye house of William Cobbe, a chirurgeon, near Jeoffard's Bldgs. in high Holborn. B
 20 May, at the house of William Cobbe, in Cross Key Lane, next to the Angell, in parish of Gyles in the feilds. On the 23rd to remove back. B
 9 Sept., to the Countie of Bedford, to the house of Mr Taylor in the parish of Eatton Soaken, and from thence back to Borden aforesaid. 26 June and 18 Nov., in London. C
BREDHURST.—Richard Tray, clerk. A
 7 Feb. 1656, at Mr E. Hobson, Innkeeper, at ye sign of ye Golden Calf in Thames street, near ye three Cranes. B
BRIDGER (Query BRIDGE).—James Tongue, gent. A
- BROMLEY.**—
 John Andrews. B
 28 Feb. 1656, at the Crown in Shoe Lane, William Knowle, Victualler. Removed 29th. B
 Henry Gilburne, Esq.; Nicholas Gardner, chandler; Henry King, gent.; Arnold King, gent.; William Phillips, yeoman. A
CALEHILL.—Sir John Darell. A
- CANTERBURY.**—
 John Best, Councillor at Law, of Paules, neere Canterbury. A
 At his Chambers in Graye's Inn. 30 April 1656, at his own Chamber in Graye's Inn. 11 June, at his Chamber in Graye's Inn. B
 John Bettenham, Gent. A
 In London 15 July 1656. C
 Thomas Edwards, gent. In London 26 June 1656. C
 Thomas Everett, Mayor. A
 Jeremy Gay, gent., of Paules neere Canterbury (*conf.* NONNINGTON). A
 Richard Hardress, Esq., of Hardress. A
 Of Hardress Court. C
 6 Feb. 1656, at Lawrence Winderis, A Shoemaker in Graye's Inn Lane. 12 Feb., gave notice of removal from Winderis in Graye's Inn to Upphards. 7 May, of Upp Hards at Samuell Cullimores in Bread Street, next door to ye Signe of the Crowne, in ye parish of Bennetsfincks. B
 26 June, in London. C
 Thomas Hardress, Esq. A
 23 Jan. 1656, at his chambers in Graye's Inn. Removed 20 Feb. back to Canterbury. 22 April, at his chamber in Graye's Inn. B
 22 May, gave notice of his intention to remove back to Canterbury. C
 4 June, at his chamber in Graye's Inn. B
 In London 8 July and 9 Dec. 1656. C
 Avery Hills, Apothecary. A
 In London 24 July and 4 Dec. 1656. C

William Kingsley, gent.	A
Francis Lovelace, Esq., of Paules neere Canterbury.	A
29 Ap. 1656, at his chamber in Graye's Inn.	B
Francis Maplesden, grocer.	A
29 Jan. 1656, at the Sign of the Squirrel, Robert Wheeler, gunmaker, in Shoe Lane, London. 7 Feb., again at Wheeler's, who is called a Gunsmith; on the 9 th gave notice of his intention to remove back to Canterbury. 26 Feb. 1656, at the house of John Webb, Cheesmonger, on St. Mary Hill by Billingsgate. Removed on the 28 th . 2 June 1656, at the Squirrel; removed on the 5 th .	B
In London on 4 Nov. 1656.	C
William Marshall, Pewterer.	A
Henry Palmer, gent.	A
On 18 Nov. 1656 he was in London, and described as of Martin Hill, near Canterbury.	C
Richard Pysing, Carpenter.	A
3 March 1656, at the bleeding heart at Ratcliffe Cross, in the p ^{ish} of Stepney at the house of Thomas Gibson; on Friday 7 th intendeth to remove back to Canterbury.	B
Robert Pownoll, Clerke; William Rigdon, gent., of Nether Hardress (see LIMIDGE); William Russell, gent.; John Reader, gent.	A
Edward Roberts, Esq.	A
26 Jan. 1656, at his Chambers in Graye's Inn, Holborn. 14 Feb., removed back to Canterbury. 30 Ap., at his chamber in Graye's Inn. 23 May, gave notice of his intention to remove back to Canterbury.	B
In London 8 July and 4 Dec.	C
Joseph Roberts, gent., of Dunstons; John Slowman, gent., of Paules neere Canterbury.	A
John Simpson, grocer.	A
In London 15 July.	C
Anthony Sanderson, gent., of Dunstons; Thomas Tuke, Tobacco-pipe Maker; Robert Turner, Vintner.	A
CHALLOCK.—John Giles, gent.; Gibbon Hawker, gent.	A
CHARLTON.—Edward Wilsford, Coll.	A
This is probably Charlton-by-Dover.	A
CHART, LITTLE.—Daniel Bourne, yeoman.	A
30 April 1656, lodgeth at ye house of Richard Baylye, Inn-keeper, at the Crowne in Covent Garden. 3 May, gave notice of his intention to remove back to Little Chart on the 5 th .	B
CHARTHAM.—Thomas Osbourne, Esq.	A
5 Feb. 1656, at the house of M ^r Clarke, A Surgion in the old Bailey at the Surgions' Armes. 7 May, at the house of Mrs. Bellinger, widdow, in the old Bailey, near the Pump. 24 May, gave notice of his intention to remove back on the 26 th .	B
CHELSEFIELD.—Francis Brasyer, yeoman; John Cocke, husbandman; John Clark, yeoman; Robert Petley, yeoman.	A
CHERITON.—Zouch Brockman, gent.	A
CHEVENING.—15 July 1656, Thomas Turnur of Graye's Inn gave notice of his intention to remove towards Chevening, and on the 24 th to remove to Kingston on Thames.	C
CHISLEHURST.—Phillip Warwick. 12 June 1656, was in London.	C
CHISLETT.—Huffham, gent. [<i>sic</i>].	A
CRANBROOK.—John Leigh, gent.	A
8 May 1656, John Leigh, the elder, of the Towne of Cranbrook, Gent., at his Chamber in Staple Inn in the parish of Andrew in Holborn. 22 May, to remove on the 23rd. 11 June, at his chamber in Staple Inn.	B
In London 8 July and 4 Dec.	C

CRAY.—(See NORTH CRAY, ST. MARY CRAY, and CROUCH.)

CRAYFORD.—Thomas Andrews, yeoman.

CROUCH.—Robert Maning, yeoman.

There is a parish of this name in the Hundred of Wrotham (*Hasted*, vol. ii., p. 240), but possibly it may be one of the Crays, as the name occurs several times on tokens in this district. Isaac Manning of Dartford issued one in 1664, in 1658 Ann Maning of St. Mary Cray issued one, and Robert Maning of St. Mary Cray appears in these lists (see ST. MARY CRAY). A family named Manning was seated at Cudham and Down for many years.

CUDHAM.—Roger Knowe, yeoman.

DARTFORD.—George Smale, yeoman.

DAVINGTON.—John Bode, gent.; Robert Owre, gent.

DELCE, GREAT.—(See ROCHESTER.)

DIMCHURCH.—Edward Harrison, gent.

—DITTON.—William Brewer, gent.

In London 8 July 1656.

DOVER.—

Arnold Braines, Merchant.

The clerk was dubious as to the spelling of the name, besides being shaky as to the topography of his lodging; apparently he had removed to Bridge.

6 Feb. 1656, at the house of Mr Richard Harrison, A Taylor over against the Dolphin Tavern in Tower Street in the parish of Barking. 12 Feb., Braames gave notice of removal from Tower street to Dover. 12 March, again at Harrison's. 19 May, entered as Arnold Braams of Bridge, at the house of Harrison, a Tayler, over against the Dolphin Tavern in Tower Street in the parish of Dunstan-in-the-East.

12 Feb., entered as Brames in C. In London 20 Nov., entered as Braenies of Bridge.

Ferdinando Booth, gent.; Nicholas Easton, Merchant; John Foster, Innholder; Robert Howard, Cordwainer; John Loome, Merchant; Humphrey Mantle, Brewer.

Peter Nevill, of Hussam, near Dover.

In London 11 Sept. 1656.

Edward Ranger, Merchant; John Rolfe, Mercer; Lawrence Sawyer, Innholder; John Smith, Innholder; Robert Valie, Brewer; George West, Maltster; William Wellard, Brewer.

DUNSTAN.—(See CANTERBURY.)

EASTRY.—John Austin, yeoman.

ELMES.—Peter Neprow, Merchant (Query ELMSTONE).

ELTHAM.—Thomas Supp, gent.

ERITH.—John Harvill, yeoman.

EYTHORNE.—John Farnaby, gent.

EAST FARLEIGH.—Thomas Deering, gent.; John Wood, yeoman.

FARNBOROUGH.—Henry Hall, gent.

FAVERSHAM.—

Robert Owre.

John Trowt, gent.

5 Feb. 1656, lodgeth at the house of Edward Jones, Victualler, in Warwick Lane, and on Thursday or Friday intendeth to remove back to ffaversham.

4 March, at same lodging, returned on 11th. 25 April, at same lodging, to return on 2nd May. 20th May, again at the George; to remove on 23rd.

In London 11 Nov. and 16 Dec.

William Trowts is entered on 24 April, but this is probably a mistake.

John Vpton, gent.

Nicholas Wade, Maltster.	A
13 May, lodgeth at the house of Robert Whitbourne, Inkeeper att the Starr, on new fish Street Hill. 16 May, described as a Merchant; gave notice of his intention to remove back on the 17 th .	B
FORDWICH.—	
Thomas Bix, gent.	A
William Norton, gent.	A
7 May 1656, lodgeth at the house of M ^r John Rogers, at ye golden fleece in Aldersgate Street, London, upholster. 14 May, gave notice of his intention to remove back to ffordwich near Canterbury.	B
Thomas Tremill, gent.	A
FRINSTEAD.—Thomas Thatcher, yeoman.	A
GOODNESTONE.—William Tucker, yeoman.	A
GREENWICH, EAST.—Andrew Halfpenny, Brewer; Robert Smith, Butcher.	A
HACKINGTON.—Sir Christopher Harfleete; Robert Hamond.	A
HADLOW.—Henry Lea, gent.	A
2 May 1656, at the house of John Cheeke, near London Stone, at the Sign of the Harp, in the parish of Mary Bothaw. 23 May, gave notice of his intention to remove on the 24 th .	B
HARDRESS.—(See CANTERBURY.)	
HARTCLIFFE.—Thomas Gibbon, gent.	A
HARTINGTON.—Thomas Courthope, gent.	A
HAWKHURST.—William Pix, gent.	A
HAYES.—Thomas Paine, yeoman.	A
HINXHILL.—	
Kenneth Bark, gent.	A
Thomas Bark, gent.	A
10th May 1656, of Hinksill, at the house of Samuell Bourman, Victualler, near Staple Inn, Holborn. 22 May, removed back.	B
HOLLINGBOURNE.—William Reynolds, gent.	A
HORTON KIRBY.—Sir Edward Bathurst.	A
5 Jan. 1656, Sir Edward Bathurst, Knight, of the parish of Horton Kirby, in the Countie of Kent, hath appeared and saith that he now lodgeth at the Sign of the Lute in fleet Street at the house of M ^r E. Wayte, Millinor, in the parish of Brides. In the margin of this entry is "Removed 15 April." 15 April, gave notice of his removal from the Lute in fleet Street to the house of Elizabeth Bromseild, Widdow, near fetter Lane.	B
HOTHFIELD.—(See THANET.)	
HUSSAM.—(See DOVER.)	
KINGSDOWN.—Thomas Finch, gent.	A
LANGDON, EAST.—Thomas Marsh, gent.	A
LANGDON, WEST.—Henry Oxenden, gent.	A
LEIGH.—William Saxby, gent.	A
LIMIDGE.—William Rigdon, yeoman.	A
Query, is this a mistake of the clerk for "BRIDGE"? (see NETHER HARDRESS).	
LINSTEAD.—	
Simon Greenstead, gent.	A
In London 11 Nov. 1656.	C
Leonard Smith, gent.	A
MAIDSTONE.—Daniel Beckman, Distiller of Strong Water.	A
MALLING, EAST.—James Fletcher, yeoman.	A
MARGARET'S.—(See ROCHESTER.)	
MARGATE.—(See St. John Baptist in the Isle of THANET.)	
MEOPHAM.—Henry Haslon, Esq.	A
MILSTEAD.—Thomas Fearn, gent.	A
MILTON.—John Mowting, Maltster.	A

NETHER HARDRESS.—(See CANTERBURY.)

NEWCHURCH.—Paul Knell, Clerk.

NONNINGTON.—Jeremy Gay, gent.

Conf. CANTERBURY.

NORTH CRAY.—

William Buggin, gent.

George Cooke, Esq.

2 Feb. 1656, gave notice of his intention to remove from Mr. Dobson's house in fleet Street back to his dwelling in North Cray. 5 April, at the house of Ralph Ouldham, Shoemaker, at the Gun in Savoy Parish, in the Strand. Removed on the 18th.

William Harvill, yeoman.

ORPINGTON.—John Ebbetts. Jbbett, yeoman. Entered as Ibbitt under I.

Joseph Staple, yeoman.

OSPRINGE.—Augustine Terry, yeoman.

6 May 1656, lodgeth at the house of Mr Whiteburne, Innkeeper, at ye Starr in new Fish street Hill. 8 May, removed back.

13 May, again at Whitbourn's. 15 May, gave notice of his intention to remove back.

In London 8 July and 4 Dec.

OSSINGTON.—Christopher Boys, gent.

PLUCKLEY.—William Poss, yeoman.

PRESTON.—Thomas Pordage, yeoman.

"Of Preston, neere ffaversham," was in London 4 Dec.

1656.

RIPPLE.—John Gookin, gent.

ROCHESTER.—

Thomas Knight, of the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Barber, on the 25 Nov. 1656 gave notice of his intention to remove to Rochester.

Richard Lee, Esq., of Great Delce, on 19 Jan. 1656, lodged in Queen Street, at the house of one Mr John Worsley, a Tobacco seller, in the parish of Giles in the feilds. 22 April, at Worsley's again.

8 July, "of Great Delte," in London. 14 Aug., of the parish "of Margarett neer Rochester," gave notice of his removal to Epsom in Surrey. 26 Aug., "of Greate Delce in Margarettes neere Rochester," gave notice of his removal from Epsom to Great Delce. In London 4 Dec. 1656.

George Newman, Esq.

17 March, at ye Cock and Key, in the house of John Liston, a barbor in fleet Street. Removed on the 22nd.

In London 11 Nov. 1656.

William Summers, gent.

3 April 1656, Wm. Somer, gent., lodgeth at ye house of Richard Somer, in fetter lane, near the golden Lyon Tavern. 25 April, removed to St. Margaret's.

SANDHURST.—Robert Howard, yeoman.

SANDWICH.—

John Does, Maltster.

Phineas Ellwood, Linendraper.

In London 9 Sept. and 25 Nov. 1656, when he was described as "of the Towne and Porte of Sandwich, gent."

Thomas Hadman, Blacksmith; Valentine Jenkin, Maltster; Richard Kingsford, Mariner; Mathias Stokes, Maltster; Jeffery Sarketts, Maltster; George Wood, gent.; Jeffery Wells, Maltster.

SEVINGTON.—Humphrey Masters, gent.

SHEPPERDSWELL.—William Merryweather, gent.; Philemon Pownoll, Baronet.

SITTINGBOURNE.—Robert Barham, Webster; Paul Graunt, Yeoman.

SMARDEN.—Thomas Swift, yeoman.	A
SNAVE.—Thomas Brett, gent. 6 May 1656, at the house of Mr Bellamy, in Basing Street, Innkeeper, at the White Bear, in ye Parish of Basinghall, London, and intendeth on Wednesday the 14 th present to remove back to Snave aforesaid.	A B
ST. MARY CRAY.—Robert Manning. In London 18 Dec. 1656. (See CROUCH.)	C
SUTTON, EAST.—31 Dec. 1656, Edward Barham of the parish of St. Andrewe Holborn to East Sutton in the Countie of Kent.	C
TENTERDEN.—James Wide, Miller.	A
THANET.— Stephen Knowler, gent., of St. Nicholas, in the Isle of Thanet.	A
James Newman, gent., of St. John Baptist, in the Isle of Thanet. (Margate was so called till the beginning of the present century.) At the house of Mr Bywater, A Cutler, in fleet Street. 31 May, gave notice of his intention to remove on 1 June back. In London 24 June 1656.	A B C
Henry Pettitt, gent.	A
William Rooke, gent. Of Margarets [<i>sic</i>] in the Isle of Thanet. 15 May 1656, "of Margate, in the Isle of Thanet," at the house of John Harper, Confectioner, at the Tunn in Newgate Market. 21 May, gave notice of his intention to remove on 22nd May back.	A B
John, Earl of Thanet Island [<i>sic</i>]. 1 May 1656, John, Earl of Thanet, of the parish of Buttolphs, Aldersgate, on the 1st present certified his Lpchs intention the same day to remove from his said dwelling to Hothfield in the Countie of Kent. 5 June, the Right hon ^{ble} John, Earle of Thanet, of the parish of Buttolphs Aldersgate, London, on the 3rd present gave notice of his intendment then to remove towards Hothfield in the Countie of Kent.	A B
29 July, a similar entry. 9 Dec., a similar entry.	C
THROWLEY.—Matthew Bunce, gent.	A
TUNBRIDGE.— On 24 July 1656 Edward Darrell of Clerkenwell gave notice of his intention to remove to Tunbridge.	C
24 July 1656, John Barker of St. Martins-in-the-Fields gave notice of his intention to remove to Tunbridge.	C
29 July 1656, Sir Vincent Corbett of James, Clerkenwell, gave notice of his intention to remove towards Tunbridge.	C
29 July 1656, Henry Osborn of Drury Lane gave notice of his intention to remove to Tunbridge.	C
TUNSTALL.— Silvester Harlackenden, Gent. 1 March 1656, lodgeth at the house of Mr. Pope, a Druggist, in Chancery Lane near fleet street.	A B
Thomas Harlackenden. Of the parish of Clerkenwell, on 9 Dec. 1656, gave notice of his intention to remove to Tunstall in Kent.	C
Sir Edward Hales, Bart. 30 Jan. 1656, this day gave notice of his intention to remove from his house in the parish of Covent Garden to Tunstall. 5 March ... this day intendeth to remove from his own house in the Pyatza in Covent Garden back to Tunstall. 24 April, lodgeth in Covent Garden, near the Pyatza, over against the Church. 3 May, this day gave notice that he intendeth to remove from his dwelling house in the Piatza in Covent Garden back to Tunstall aforesaid. 9 May, at the Piazza. 2 June, gave notice of his intention to remove back to Tunstall.	A B

In London 9 July, 15 July, 21 Aug. 9 Dec., on the 8th certified his intention to remove from his home in the parish of Covent Garden to Tunstall.

ULCOMBE.—Francis Clarke, Esq.

24 Jan. 1656, lodgeth at his own chambers in Middle Temple. 15 Feb., removed back to Vlcombe. 13 March, personally certified that he lodged ye last night at ye Tunn in Newgate Market, ye house of Mr Harper, Grocer. 14 March, gave notice of his intention to remove to Vlcombe. 22 April, at his own chambers in Graye's Inn. 10 May, removed back. 14 May, at his own chamber in Pump Court in the Middle Temple. 16 May, on Friday intendeth to remove back to Vlcombe. 9 June, at his chamber in Pump Court in the Middle Temple, London.

12 June, in London, described as of "Vlcombe, in the County of Essex." In London 8 July, 11 Nov., 4 Dec.

WAREHAM.—William Cooper of Half Streete in the parish of Wareham.

WESTCLIFFE.—Thomas Gibbon.

WEST WICKHAM.—Richard Whiffen, yeoman.

WICKHAM BREAU.—John Smith, gent.

Entered as "of William Brooke."

WILSBOROUGH.—Edmund Sheafe, yeoman.

WINGHAM.—

Sir Thomas Palmer, Baronet.

1 Feb. 1656, now lodgeth at ye two Blackamores, ye house of

Mr. Barron, an apothecary in the Old Baylie.

WOOLWICH.—Jerome Manwood, Esq.

WYE.—William Brett, yeoman.

2 April 1656, lodgeth at ye Talbot in Grace Church Street at the house of Mr Wilson, Innkeeper. Removed on the 9th.

In London 4 Sept.

YALDING.—Nicholas Barfoote, yeoman.

Entered as "of Yalden."

THE RUINED CHAPEL OF ST. KATHERINE AT SHORNE, KENT.

PART II.

BY GEORGE M. ARNOLD, F.S.A.

SINCE my communication upon this Chantry, which appeared on pp. 195—202 of Vol. XX. of *Archæologia Cantiana*, the following additional information has come to hand in reference to the building, the history of which was so obscure, that not only all circumstances of its foundation, but even the Saint of its dedication had been utterly lost.

Mr. Leland L. Duncan, in writing his Notes of Wills proved in the Rochester Consistory Court, has very kindly drawn my attention to a will of Thomas Davy of "Shornstrete" (book vii., fol. 77 A), bearing date A.D. 1516, and attested by Sir Thomas Elys, in which (he states) there occurs the following bequest:—

"To the reparacion of Saynt Kateren Chapell half a quarter of Barley."

It appears from such information as I can obtain that the Parish Church of Shorne contained neither altar, nor chapel dedicated to St. Katherine—hence that this legacy referred to the present building seems probable, if not incontestable.

If the witness, Sir Thomas Elys (who, according to Hasted, died Vicar of Shorne on the 18th March 1569) was (as I suppose) the then vicar, he affords a tolerable refutation in his own person of the idea that Shorne was at those periods an unhealthy parish, suffering often from the prevalence of ague; for protection against which a Saint "Sir John Schorne" was popularly invoked.

I do not know that the Saint possessed other shrines in Kent than at Shorne, at Lower Halstow, and at Canterbury Cathedral, though it is stated by one author that the adjoining Parish Church of Merston (probably in error for a parish in Bucks) contained one; but that he was venerated in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Bucks, and Berks we possess much evidence.

Mr. Brent, in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XIII., p. 113, exhibited an illustration of six pilgrim sigas in lead or pewter, denoting visits by their possessors paid to the shrine of Sir John Shorne; and at North Marston Church above referred to "Brown Willis" noticed (written up) the lines beginning "Sir John Schorne,

Gentleman, born, etc.," but no pilgrims' signs of the kind have been found in the restoration of St. Katherine's, Shorne, partly (it may be) from my objection to disturb the buried remains of men committed to Mother Earth accompanied by Christian rites.

That St. John Shorne's reputation for sanctity was considerable is illustrated by his shrine in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, which was removed thither from North Marston by Papal licence, and from the circumstance that the offerings at it, after such transfer, amounted to as much as £500 yearly.

At all events the ague would certainly have seemed to have weighed lightly upon the longevity of Sir Thomas Elys, since we find in the Rochester Wills that Thomas Page, under date so far back as 1st June 1495, willed "that my feoffees make or demise a state unto Sir Thomas Elis, now Vicar of Shorn, and to X or XII of the best disposed young men of the parish of Shorn, in a tenement called 'Normans' lying and sitting in Up Shorn, in the said parish, to have and to hold to them their heirs and assigns for ever; To the intent that they shall suffer the before named Sir Thomas Elis, Vicar of the same Parish, to have and to occupy the said tenement, as the Vicar's dwelling place, as long as he liveth, and there continueth Vicar, and if the said Sir Thomas decease, or be promoted to any other benefice, or cease to be Vicar, Then the said tenement to remain to the Vicar next succeeding him in like forme as it is granted to the said Sir Thomas, and so the tenement to be continued from Vicar to Vicar, in like forme as long as the world shall endure." For this certain masses and religious services (in the said will mentioned) were to be performed at certain times in the Parish "Church of Shorne," and (the testator continuing, adds) "when it shall fortune 7 or 8 of the persons that be enfeofed to decease, Then I will that a new state be made by them who outlive, to the said Vicar for the time being, and X or XII young men as is before rehearsed, to the intent before specified, and so infinitely for ever."

Thus, if the said Sir Thomas Elys, the testamentary witness of Thomas Davy (the benefactor of St. Katherine) be the vicar of that name, and be also the vicar of that name mentioned in the will of Thomas Page of 1495, who died as above stated upon 18th March 1569, he must probably have attained the age of 100 years, a respectable evidence of the salubrity of his parish in his times.

Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., who has recently edited for the Surtees Society the Certificates by the Royal Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, and Hospitals in Yorkshire, of the middle of the sixteenth century, was good enough to tell me that he had come across several similar instances to that of St. Katherine, Shorne, of Chantry Chapels about which nothing is known, and of which there has been no return in the Chantry Certificates, and congratulated me upon my fortune in finding the record in the Elizabethan Commissioners' return of concealed lands, which has shed some light upon the previous gloom, and has given us at all events the dedication of the Chapel.

The perusal of his interesting work brings to light several

instances of Yorkshire Chantries dedicated to St. Katherine, and possessing features very analogous to the Shorne Chantry—and of these I have noted the few following instances:—

A Chantry Chapel, about as far from its Parish Church as St. Katherine, Shorne, is distant from Shorne Church (about half a mile), is mentioned in the following entry:—

“The Chaunterye of Service wythyn the Manor of Topylff.

“William Toppam, incumbent. The same Chaunterye is founded by th’ Erle of Northumberland to singe Masse and to pray for the soules of the founders and all Crysten soules.

“The same chauntry is dystaunt from the sayd parysshe church e dimid mile.

“The necessity thereof is saing of masse within the sayd manor. The same chauntrey is nether charged to the firste frutes or tenthes.

“The foundation is observyed, and kept accordingly.

“Goodes, ornamentes, and plate pertenyng to the sayd chauntrye, as apperyth by inventory, plate, nil, goodes, nil.

“First, a certen yerly rent comyng out of the Manor of Topylff, fyve pondes payd by the receyvor of the said Manor, etc.”

The two following St. Katherine Chantries were locally within the fabrics of their Parish Churches:—

“The Chaunterye of Seynt Katheryne, within the sayd Church of Doncastre.

“Robert Myrfyn, incumbent. Of the foundation of John Haryngton, esquier (Licence to John Son of W^m Hairington & Isabella his Wife to found a Chantry at the Altar of the Blessed Katherine in the Church of St George of Doncaster 4 July 1453, Pat. 31 Hen. VI., p. 2 in 20) and Elizabeth hys wyeff, dated in the day of Cathedra of Seynt Peter [*sic*] Anno Domini MCCCCLVJ, and anno regni regis Henrici VIIL XXXV. To th’ entente to pray for the soules of the founders and all Cristen soules, and to fynde one yerely obite there.

“The same chaunterye is within the sayd church. The necessitie is to pray for the soules of the founders and all Cristen soules. There is no landes sold ne alvenated sins the iiijth day of February, anno regni regis Henrici VIIJth, xxvij^{mo}.

“Goodes, ornamentes, and plate pertenyng to the same, as apperyth by inventory, viz.:—goodes valued at xij^s iiij^d, plate xlj^s.

“Firste thre acres of lande in Whitelay in tholdyng of Hugh Wyrall, esquier, vj^s, etc., etc., whereof paiaable yerely to the Kyng’s Majestie, for a tenthe x^s iiij^d; to Wyndham for cheffe rent vj^s viij^d; to the sayd Wynham j rent x^s; to Thomas Barnston for cheffe rent x^s. In all xxxi^s. And so remaineth vjliix^s vj^d.”

The following is the second instance of Chantry within the Parish Church:—

“The Service of Seynt Katheryne in the sayd Church of Rotherham.

“Richard Lyng, Incumbent, Havyng no foundation but of the ordynance of dyvers well disposed persons; To th’entente to pray for the soules of the benefactors, and all Cristen soules, and to do

dyvyne service, and to say Masse in the sayd Church at vj a clocke in the morning wynter and somer.

"The same is wythin the sayd church.

"The necessitie thereof is to pray for the soules departyd, and all Christen soules, and to do dyvine service in the sayd church. There is no landes ne sold, ne alyenated, sythens the Statute.

"Goodes, ornamentes, and plate pertenyng to the same as appereth by inventory, viz. :—goodes valued xij^s viij^d, plate lx^s.

"Firste Robert Swaythe a parcell of ground called the Crawflatt x^s, etc., etc.

"Whereof, paiable yerely to the King's Majestie, p. a. xth viij^s. To the Lorde Shrewsbury for Chyffe Rent vij iiiij^d. To Master Denman for Chief Rent out of a parcell of Medowe in Broadmarse xvij^d. To the Lorde of Marsburgh in the said Lordship xij^d, in all xvij^s viij^d, and so remaneth ciiij^s x^d."

A reviewer of Mr. Page's work, referring to the Edwardine Statute, under which St. Katherine's, Shorne, was suppressed, alleges "that the Act states, with characteristic hypocrisy, that to chantries and the like was due a great part of superstition and errors in Christian religion, and it dissolved them avowedly to bestow their possessions on the erection of grammar schools, the general advancement of learning, and the better provision for the poor and needy; in reality the profits of a considerable part of the confiscated property were, within a few months of the passing of the Act, devoted to the prosecution of warlike operations in Scotland and Ireland, and other secular purposes—and Mr. Page is able to state, on the authority of the official reports of the Charity Commissioners, that not one grammar school was actually founded by Edward VI. throughout Yorkshire; some (it is true) were continued, but none were founded. When we consider the proportion that this vast county bears to the whole of England, we shall see the value of the statement in estimating the motives which, in sweeping away religious foundations, actuated the young King and his zealous advisers, who thirsted for the spread of education. Educational endowments (says Mr. Page) had to be left for later reigns, and largely to private munificence. The unique opportunity which the dissolution of the Chantries presented for advancing the cause of education was practically lost."

No doubt the "Capellanus" (Chaplain) attached to such Chantries was in a greater or less degree an educational factor in the locality, available for many a grammar school of the day, though doubtless his duties were mainly ecclesiastical and spiritual. Indeed, Canon Rock, in his *Church of our Fathers*, vol. iii., p. 124, writes: "The obligation usually consisted in saying Mass, and the canonical hours every day, besides the whole service of the dead once each week throughout the year, within the Chantry-Chapel itself, for the founder's soul; besides this the priest had to be in the choir of the church wherein his Chantry stood (if it were within a Parish Church) on all Sundays and holy days, singing and helping at the parochial services, and also to walk in public processions."

We know also from the records of our own county that eleemosynary benefits were attached to many chantries in favour of the poor; indeed, a weekly dole to the poor was usually provided by most founders of chantries amongst their other regulations. From the certificate of Sir X'tofer Clarke, "Chauntre of Hederon" (Headcorn in Kent), we learn there was distributed "yerly by the foundation of the same Chantre:

"First, weekly every wake vij^d to vij poure people of the Parish of Headcorn, xxx^s iiiij^d.

"Item, an obit for the founder yerly xx^s.

"Item, to the lights of the Crucifyx and sepulchre of our Lord God yerly iiij^s iiiij."—*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1—63.

But a very interesting reference to St. Katherine, Shorne, in the first half of the last century, has been discovered since the publication of Vol. XX. of this Journal, and it occurs in the translation of Kalm's account of his visit to England on his way to America in 1748, a translation of a rare book made by Mr. Joseph Lucas, and published by Macmillan and Co. as lately as 1892. My attention was specially attracted by the translator's preface, who explains that Kalm was born in 1716, and in 1747 was commissioned by the Swedish Government and the Academy of Science (with joint subsidies from the Universities of Abo and Upsala) to visit North America for the purpose of investigating its natural productions. It appears that on the 17th February 1748 he reached London, and remained in England till the 5th August following, when, embarking at Gravesend, he did not return to the mouth of the Thames until the 27th March 1751, where at last his many perils by sea were terminated by the ship running ashore, and (their two pumps failing to keep the water under) they had to seek the nearest land.

The translator speaks of the extreme completeness of Kalm's Agricultural Notes in his account of England and survey of the country district, which he made from four centres, one of them being Gravesend, and then proceeds to state (p. xv.) that the illustrations or figures in the book (with the exception of that of the *Archæological Mystery* on p. 402 and the plan shewing its site) are reproductions of "Jungström's" figures. Jungström was Kalm's botanical assistant.

Upon turning to the text to see of what this "Archæological Mystery" near Gravesend consisted, I found with equal interest and surprise that it was none other than St. Katherine's Chapel, and I will now transcribe Mr. Lucas's translation of what Kalm wrote:

"15 July 1748. Churches—the ancient ones, mostly of flints, etc. I have mentioned above that nearly all the old churches in this part were built of flints, as Chadwell in Essex, Northfleet, west of Gravesend, and several others in Kent. To-day also we saw that many churches in Rochester were for the most part built of bare flint, only that they used some Portland stone among them.

"We went afterwards from the high road up to a hamlet where we saw an old Church, which they used as a malthouse.

"This was similarly almost entirely built of flints, only that the window-frames and mullions and the door posts were of Portland stone.

"The windows were quite small. There appeared, truly enough, bricks in the walls in one place and another, but it could at the same time be plainly seen that the wall had there been broken, and that the brickwork was the work of later times.

"We saw afterwards another Church (the description applies to Shorne Church), which similarly was for the greatest part built of flints, yet that Portland stone was here and there built into the wall. The window frames and tracery, as well as the door posts, were always, in all such old Churches, of Portland stone; also frequently the angles of the Church walls and the tower.

"The windows were mostly small enough, for which reasons we may conclude (1) That the brick kiln in former times seems to have been little known, or at least not specially used in this district. (2) That the use of glass also in those times was not very great.

"On the south side of another Church there have formerly been three large doors side by side, but they were afterwards built up with flints, and made only into small windows.

"Some of these old Churches now stood deep down in the earth, so that their floor was much deeper down than the outer surface of the Churchyard, a sign of their great age. Thus either the Church has sunk, or the earth in the Churchyard has been raised by the corpses and coffins buried there, with other earth that had been carried there, or all these causes together.

"I also noticed that in most places in this district, and also in Essex, they used the churchyards where they buried their dead as pastures for horses, donkeys, or pigs, but especially for horses. In some places the churchyard was used also as a hayfield or meadow, so that they mowed the grass before the cattle were driven in thither."

Kalm next tells us of his visit to Rochester: "Rochester is a beautiful town, tolerably large, and very old, lying on both sides of the river Medway, about 27 English miles from London. Here about are several hills, and part of the town also lies upon them, but still it is mostly down in the valleys by the river side. The houses are mostly of brick, some of them quite beautiful. There are several churches here, some of antique architecture. Over the river Medway runs a large stone bridge, which is reckoned to be one of the finest in England. In the town is a Cathedral and Bishop's Palace. A short distance below the town lies the famous Chatham, where the English men-of-war are partly built, repaired, and kept. In the evening we came back to Gravesend."

This translated text of Kalm does not, as will be seen, disclose his possession of any archæological knowledge. It is the account of an intelligent traveller and observer of Nature, collecting facts of natural history for his country.

He was staying at Gravesend, and it was in the month of July 1748, as we have seen, that he made the above excursion in the

course of his minute investigation into the husbandry of that district.

The translator (Mr. Lucas), commenting upon the above statement of Kalm's (after mentioning that the visited hamlet was Shorne), proceeds thus: "Kalm was the first writer who notices this ruin." The *Kentish Traveller*, fourth edition, 1790, has a paragraph, p. 116: "On the west side of the lane opposite to the house marked Mr. Maplesden's in the Map, the traveller will probably notice an Ancient Chapel or Oratory. There can be no doubt of its having been a sacred edifice, because in digging for the foundation of a contiguous building, a stone coffin and many human bones were discovered. In Mr. Thorpe's *Antiquities* is an engraving of the north-west view of this Chapel, but it is left to the researches of future antiquaries to ascertain when and by whom it had its original, no deed or other historical evidence having yet been met with relative to its institution or endowment. The Map referred to in the above note is on the scale of one inch to a mile. Mr. Maplesden's house is now called Pipe's Place, and a little cross-lane (into the above lane from the west and passing south of the ruin), is called 'Malthouse Lane.' I have not been able to find the alleged view in any of the thirteen plates in Thorpe's *Antiquities*. On August 10th, 1887, I visited the ruin when Mrs. Cheeseman (aged 84) told me that when she was young it was always called 'the Malthouse,' but that she did not know that it had ever been used as such. Kalm's description is accurate. The windows are all two-light, but the mullions are gone. This was a true Church; a Piscina and two sedilia are to be seen on the south side interior. The Architecture is pure early English, probably early 13th century. The curious history of the extinct Merston Church, close by, leaves room to suppose that this too was once a parish church. This venerable ruin forms part of a modern residence known as Ivy Cottage, and seems to be totally unknown to modern Archæologists."

It is passing strange that Mr. Lucas could not find the engraving of St. Katherine's as a Malthouse, which appears in Thorpe's *Customale*, p. 116, the drawing for which is therein stated to have been taken in A.D. 1774 (the book itself being published some fourteen years afterwards); the view itself is reproduced in my previous paper, Vol. XX., p. 196.

Mr. George R. Wright, of the Leland Club, also kindly sent me a reference to the *Traveller's Companion (Canterbury)*, 1799, to which Mr. Lucas refers.

I am fairly satisfied that the Chapel formed no part of the possessions of any alien priory, since no mention of it occurs in the numerous extents of such priories made at various times, and especially at periods of warfare with France.

It has been suggested that it had some dependence upon the Chantry (now the College) at Cobham, but the accounts of the Cobham Foundation are extant at Hatfield House, where I have had them inspected, and though they are copious and contain



THE MALHOUSE RESTORED TO ITS EASTERN INTERIOR.



CONDITION TEMP. EDWARD VI EASTERN INTERIOR

entries of payments to chaplains in other hospitals, they possess no reference to St. Katherine's, Shorne.

Nor does it appear to have been dependent upon, or connected with, the Priory of St. Saviour, "Bermondsey," to which house the advowson of the parish belonged from the reign of Henry I. until the Reformation, since we have no reference to it in the annals of that house, nor in the minister's accounts at its dissolution.

I imagine there can be little doubt that a licence to alienate in mortmain was granted at the secularization of the property, but though I had the Court Rolls of Shorne (which are also deposited at Hatfield House) carefully examined, as well as a valuable list of deeds of the Cobham family in which Shorne is constantly mentioned, yet no mention of the Chapel could be traced.

Doubtless those Court Rolls, etc., have remained at Hatfield since the grant of the manor by King James I. to Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (son of William, Lord Burleigh), and it is interesting, and may be by parenthesis mentioned, that as late as the time of King Charles I. the practice of supplying the Parish Church of Shorne at Easter with green rushes appears from those Rolls to have been retained and enforced.

Again, the documents in the British Museum contain much interesting matter about Shorne, but remain silent as to our Chapel. Its history subsequent to the Queen's grant to Haselwood and Thornlynson is also a mystery. Inquisitions upon the death of each of those men have been searched for in vain, so also licences for them to alienate, and for any deeds of bargain and sale executed by them, but all without result; nor is there any further reference extant to the fee farm rent of 2s. reserved to the Crown upon the transaction.

Information which might lead to the establishment of any connection between St. Katherine's and the ancient manorial lords would be distinctly useful, such as Sir John de Nevill, John de Cobham, Sir Arnold Savage, Walter de Shorne, Arnold de Shorne, Henry de Shorne, Sir John de Northwood, and others, while, on the ecclesiastical side, any trace of the institution of any clerk to the chaplaincy would be valuable, the absence of any record of which is not very explicable.

Walter, Bishop of Rochester, who came to that See in the twelfth year of King Stephen, confirmed to the Priory of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, King Henry I.'s gift of the Churches of Shorne and Cobham, and this instrument is attested amongst others by "Nicholas Cappellanus de Scornes," which is strangely enough the first and the last appearance of the incumbent of St. Katherine's Chapel of Shorne which ancient records have yet revealed to us.

The illustrations shew the eastern interior of the Malthouse of the eighteenth century, now restored to its probable condition in the first year of Edward VI., the period of its suppression, and for them I am indebted to the kindness and skill of Mr. Winch of Court Lodge, Shorne.

SHURLAND HOUSE.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

THE Isle of Sheppey would seem to have comprised two Manors, that of Shurland representing the paramount Lordship, while that of Northwode occupied a mesne position, the former combining the entire island, for the earliest recorded holder of it was styled "Jordanus de Scapeia," as being Lord of Sheppey. A descendant of his, Sir Stephen, assumed the name of Northwode, having apparently taken up his abode in that manor-house; and to his descendant, Sir John de Northwode, and his wife Joan the still remaining brasses in the Church of Minster are ascribed, though they were long believed to have been to the memory of his father, Sir Roger de Northwode, who had been a very liberal benefactor to the Abbey and the Church.

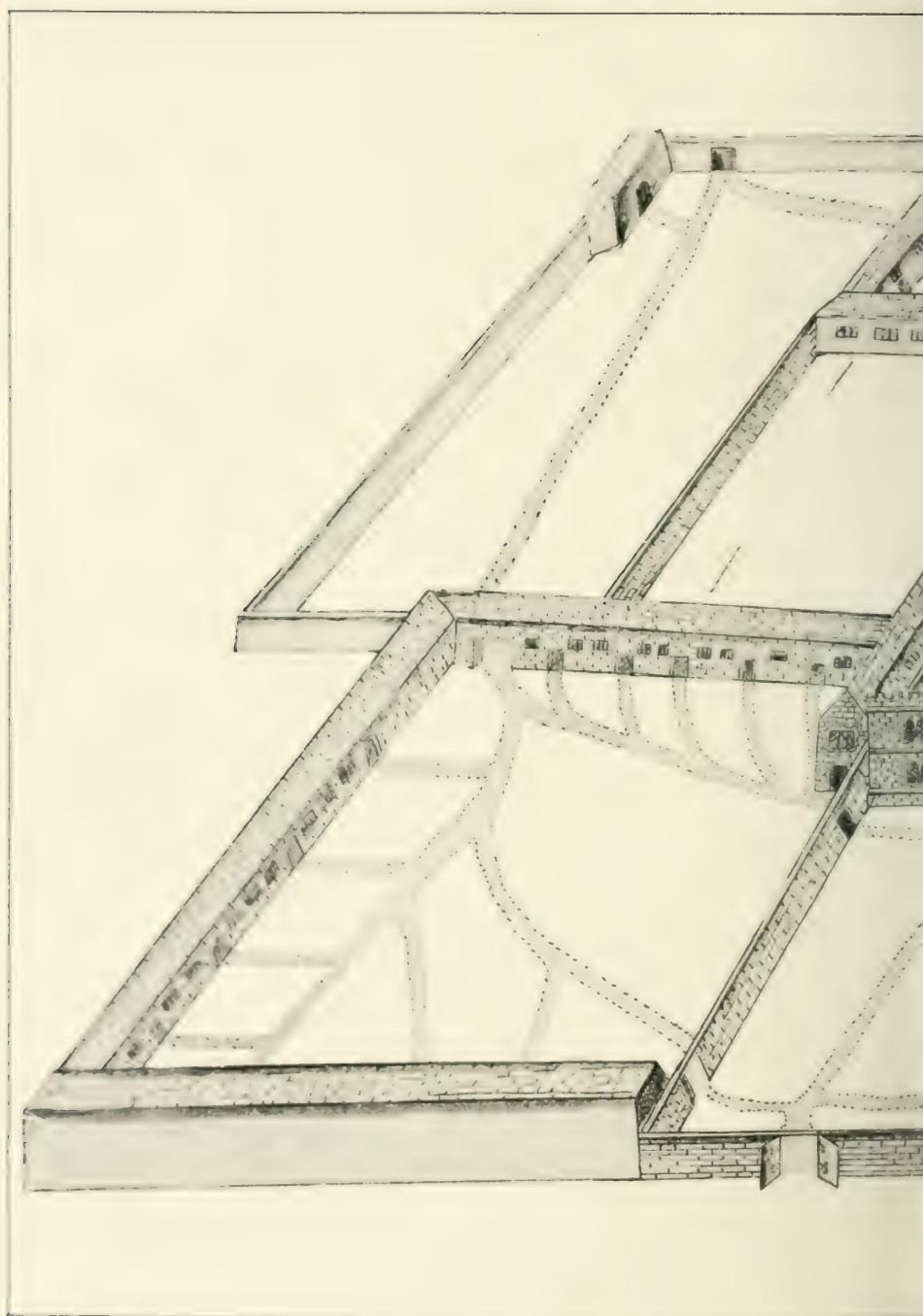
But the glory of the Northwode branch seems to have been always subordinated to, and was soon to be eclipsed by, the greater eminence of the House of Shurland, in whom our interest at present centres.* The first member of this branch which rose to any distinction was Sir Jeffery de Shurland, who was in high favour with Henry I.; but it was his son, Sir Robert de Shurland, who gave the great notoriety to the name, whose monument, with the strange accompaniment of the horse's head, has been fully described in the account of the Abbey Church.†

Now if we could attach any reliance to the record given by a very popular chronicler—or rather graphic, if somewhat imaginative, expositor of our old chronicles—Tom Ingoldsby,‡ this Sir Robert de Shurland was a most redoubtable Knight,

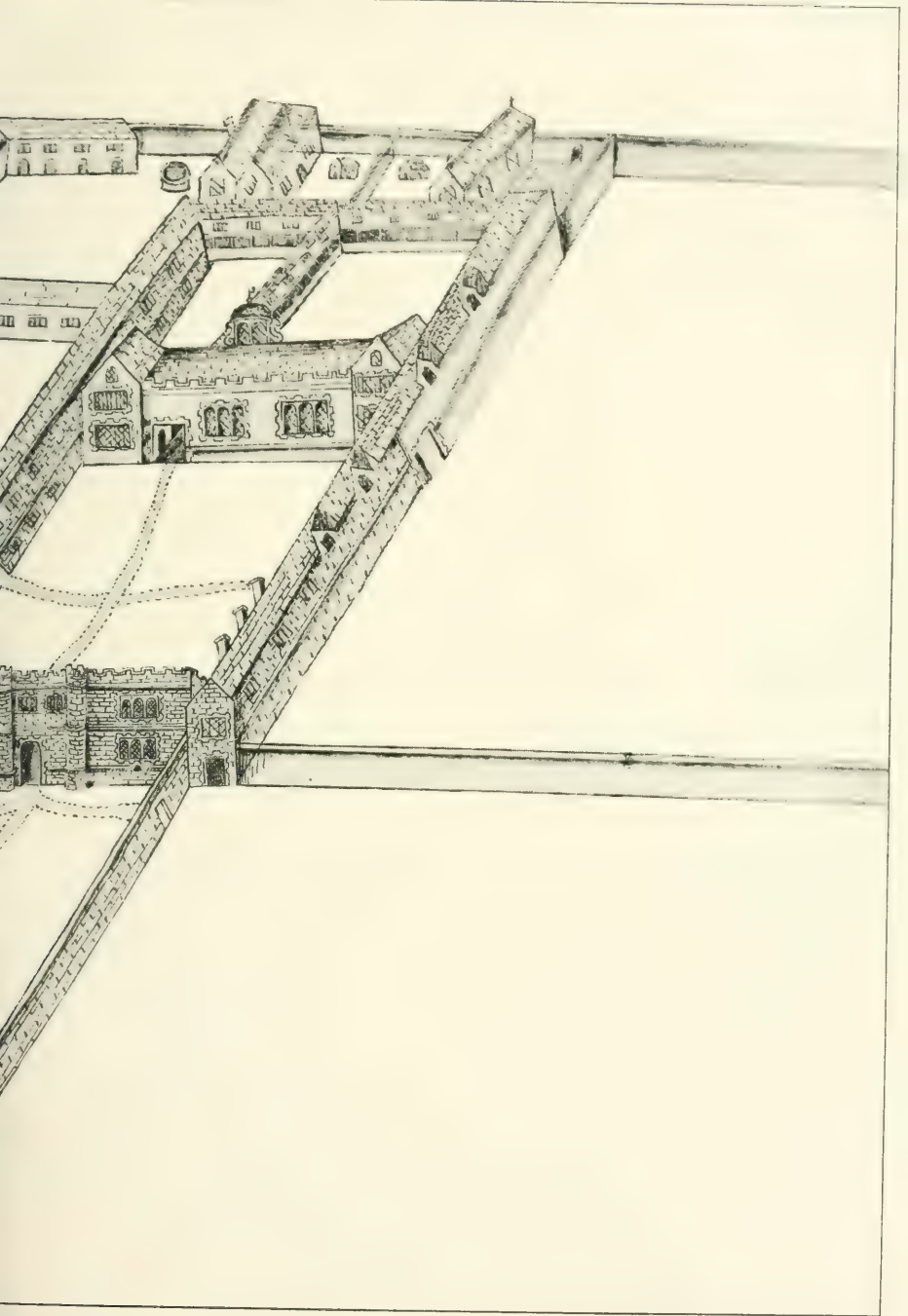
* This Paper was read in the hall of Shurland House on the occasion of the Archaeological Congress in 1896.

† Vol. XXII., p. 157.

‡ The Legend of the "Grey Dolphin."



BIRDS - EYE VIEW OF
TEMPO L



IRLAND CASTLE.

and to-day, standing on the site of his Baronial Hall, you might be tempted to ask me "Where is the doorstep at which his memorable boots were wont to stand? Where the hook on which his mighty sword yeleft 'Tickle Toby' hung?"

But, alas! I regret that I cannot satisfy your very natural and reasonable request, for the simple reason that the house of Sir Robert de Shurland survives only in name. Not a vestige of the thirteenth century building remains; all has long since disappeared to make room for a house still bearing the old name, and almost more historic as the residence of the Cheney family.*

Sir Robert de Shurland had no son to perpetuate his name, or perhaps outdo his fame. An only daughter Margaret, marrying a young Kentish knight, Sir William Cheney of Patricksbourne, carried the estates thither, and it is of the Cheneyes as Lords of Shurland that we have now to speak.

Sir Alexander, the father of Sir William Cheney, had been brother-in-arms with Sir Robert de Shurland, and both had been dubbed Knights-Banneret by Edward I. for gallantry at Carlaverock. The Cheney family had no mean record to shew during the fourteenth and fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries, embracing the period between the reigns of Edward III. and Henry VIII. No less than ten times had members of the family represented the County of Kent alone in Parliament, while Shurland House had been the scene of at least eight Shrievalty banquets given by a Cheney. Of these it may be well to give a few details.

Sir Robert Cheney, the son of Margaret de Shurland, was three times elected Knight of the Shire for Kent—in the years 1348, 1351, and 1357. His grandson Sir William represented the county in 1416, and the following year was appointed by Henry V. Justice, and ten years after by Henry VI. Chief Justice of the King's Bench.† His son,

* Under its varying forms of Chene, Cheney, Cheyney, and Chayney.

† Philipot's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 382; Foss's *Judges of England*.

also Sir John, sat for the county in 1449, while his grandson, again a Sir John, has a still more prominent place in the history of his country. He not only sat for the county, but was also Speaker of the House of Commons. A staunch Lancastrian, he was made a Knight-Banneret by Henry VII. for his gallant conduct at the battle of Bosworth Field, and two years after had the further honour of being made a Knight of the Garter and created Baron Cheney of Shurland. Leaving no son, the title became for a time extinct, and the estates passed on his death in 1496 to his nephew Thomas, the son of his younger brother William. Under him the star of the House of Cheney rose to its zenith, and culminated in a visit of Royalty to Shurland House. It was this Sir Thomas Cheney whose costly monument, so rich with emblazonry of alliances direct and indirect, forms so conspicuous an ornament in Minster Church. Along its verge may still be traced more or less completely the record of the several posts of honour to which his plasticity of character raised him. Beginning his public life as a favourite of the then all-powerful Wolsey, he was in 1520 admitted as one of the six Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, then a Privy Councillor; in 1539 Treasurer of the Royal Household and a Knight of the Garter; Warden also of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Queenborough Castle, and Lord Lieutenant for Kent.* It seemed not to matter who was on the Throne, whether Henry or Edward, Mary or Elizabeth, he adapted himself to each, and retained his offices in the Council and the Household under all. He was the while adding manor to manor, chiefly as gifts from his Royal patron, such as the suppressed Priors of Faversham, Davington, and Fordwich, the historic Castle and lands of Chilham, besides many other Kentish manors, holding withal the ancestral estate of Patricksbourne Cheney. In addition to these he owned the wealthy manor of Todding-ton in Beds, which came to him through his wife, the daughter of Sir William Broughton. These all helped to swell the Shurland rent-roll, and enabled him to entertain

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXII., p. 161.

with fitting magnificence Henry VIII. and the fair but frail Anne Boleyn in 1532.

Before this Royal visit, and possibly in anticipation of the honour, Shurland House was expanded out of materials of which he had despoiled the noble old Castle of Chilham, until it became no unworthy place in its enlarged proportions for the reception of, and as a resting place for, the greatest of the Tudor monarchs in one of his progresses. Then apparently, as the accompanying plan suggests, a wing on either side spread out from the central gateway which, with its flanking towers and their newel stairs, claims a somewhat earlier date. Then came the banqueting hall on the east of the main court, the dormitories on either side, one court after another, till the whole range spread over several acres, comprising no less than nine quadrangles, enclosed within high stone walls with the chapel in the far south-east corner, the whole forming a worthy mansion for a man who was styled "Strenuus Miles."

This visit of Henry was probably prompted by the whim and the vanity of that beautiful siren Anne Boleyn, then in the heyday of her beauty and power, in her desire to see the whilom abode of an ancestress of her own, for an aunt of hers had married a Cheney. It was a whim which her then infatuated adorer could not but gratify, and a loyal subject, the recipient of so many favours, could not but accept at whatever cost.

A Royal progress, however, in those days involved an expenditure which could hardly fail to draw deeply on the resources of even a wealthy noble; and Sir Thomas, if all the more proud, was all the poorer for the distinguished presence of Royalty even for two days. It was doubtless a gorgeous spectacle which the Lord of Shurland Castle provided for the King in that truly baronial abode; but it was a short-lived glory that then floated over Shurland House. Forty years after this lordly mansion had sunk into a neglected dilapidated rarely-tenanted country house. Like so many others, it is a sad tale to tell.

Sir Thomas lived just to see Elizabeth ascend the Throne, and on his death in 1559 was succeeded by his son Sir Henry

Cheney, who had married the sole daughter and heiress of the wealthy Lord Wentworth.* Sir Thomas had married the rich heiress of Toddington in Bedfordshire, where he had a princely estate, but Shurland had still retained charms for him. Not so with Sir Henry; not all that Kent could offer him was to be compared in his mind with Toddington domain, so he resolved to make that his home, and to make it eclipse Shurland House. Here he erected what he describes as “a noble mansion;” and not to be left behind by his father’s visit of Royalty, succeeded in attracting Elizabeth on two occasions (in 1563 and 1573) to honour him by including Toddington in one and another of her Progresses.† In reward for his lavish hospitality the Queen revived in his person the title which had lapsed on the death of his great-uncle Sir John, and attached to it the name of his estate, raising him to the Peerage as “Lord Cheney of Toddington.” But in his case it was a still more fatal honour; it involved a still more costly sacrifice; it added fuel to the fire of reckless display, in which he indulged to such an extent as to become known as “The Extravagant Lord Cheney.” The result was easy to foresee—he lived a spendthrift and died little better than a beggar. That pile which his father had accumulated and left to him was fast crumbling away; the estates which had made him one of the wealthiest of Kentish gentry were rapidly dispersed; manor after manor disappeared from his rent-roll; even the beloved and vaunted Toddington shared the general decay, and so utter had that decay become that Lysons says of it, “nothing but the kitchen remains.”

Meanwhile Shurland House felt the sad consequences of the change. Even to the ears of Elizabeth came up the bitter cry of a neglected tenantry. Where the grand old Knight Sir Thomas had kept in his house “ordinairilie eight score serving men besides retayners, gentlemen, and others that were ready for all tymes of service, or danger of invasion, numbering at the leaste to 400 persons,”‡ by the year 1570

* Collins’s *Peerage in loco*.

† Nicholl’s *Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 33.

‡ *State Papers*, Domestic Series (Elizabeth), vol. lxxv., p. 43.

Shurland House was standing empty, farm houses had fallen into decay, the island itself was well-nigh depopulated,* the land lay uncultivated, and the defences of the coast were perilously exposed. Such was the state of things when the Manor of Sheppey and Shurland House, which had for so many generations gone together, were separated—when the old ancestral home, of which Shurlands and Chenneys had been so proud, by some process of exchange reverted to the Crown.

Elizabeth at once saw the exposed and undefended condition of the island, and realizing the danger, set herself to restore, if it were possible, its prosperity, and to strengthen its fortifications. She had heard that many towns in Flanders and France were maintaining a large population, as well as creating a very remunerative industry, by the manufacture of leather.† Now the Isle of Sheppey still retained its fame as a producer of sheep;‡ its pelts (or plucked wool), its sheepskins, and lambskins she determined to turn to account; they should become a source of revenue, and bring together by traffic with the Continent a seafaring population.§ Already a “Merchaunte Stranger,” one Andreas or Andrew de Loo (or Delow, as sometimes called), had obtained a licence for leather production in the neighbouring Isle of Grain. Why should not the licence be extended to Sheppey, and a monopoly of restricted sale be established here? This would soon bring together a class not only of manufacturers and traders, but a body of men who might be utilized for

* “Thomas Fluds thinks decreased population caused by heavy rating (2000 acres unoccupied).”—*State Papers*, Domestic Series (Elizabeth), vol. lxxv., art. 40.

† *State Papers*, Domestic Series (Elizabeth), vol. lxxv., p. 36, art. 1.

‡ Old Lambarde, in his own quaint style, bears testimony to the value of the sheep of this island in his day (1579). “Whether the shiepe of this Realme were in price before the coming of the Saxons or no, they be now (God be thanked therefore) worthy of great estimation, both for the exceeding finenesse of the flese, which passeth all other in Europe at this day, and is to be compared with the ancient delicate wooll of Tarentum, or the Golden Fleese of Cochis itself, and for the abundant store of flocks.”—*Perambulations*, p. 250.

§ *State Papers*, Domestic Series (Elizabeth), vol. lxxv., art. 38. In addition to its repute as a pasture-ground for sheep, we can trace back its present fame for producing honey to an early period, for one William Sygor in the year 1466 in his will leaves *bee-hives* and *bees* for the support of a light of the Virgin Mary—“*apiarium cum apibus*.”

the Navy and the Forts,* increasing the revenue by export dues, and convert the island from being as it then was, an element of weakness, into a source of strength—"To transport, subject to payment of custom, not more than 4000 sheep-felts, 2000 sheepskins, and 4000 lambskins."†

"What," perhaps some of you will be tempted to ask, "has this to do with Shurland House?" A great deal. In a lease‡ granted by Elizabeth in 1580 is a stipulation that the tenant farmer shall convert "ten of the outer chambers or romes of the said house into tenements, and newe-build on the premises five other tenements, and in them to place ten able men to serve with caliver, pike, bowe, and such other like wepon for the defence of the island . . . and in the residue of the said house some honest and sufficient person with his family to dwell," and it shall be lawful "for her Majesty, if she please, to take down and sell certayne of the outer houses there, being superfluous." Thus was Shurland House turned for a time into a barrack, and the last-quoted clause explains how in the course of time the old mansion fell into its present condition.

Shurland House remained with the Crown until the beginning of the reign of James I., when (in 1605) he conferred what is termed in the Grant "the Capital Mansion of Shurland to his beloved and faithful servant Philip Herbert, Knight," the younger son of the Earl of Pembroke, whom he created Lord Herbert of Shurland and Earl of Montgomery. His elder brother William dying without sons, he succeeded to the family Earldom of Pembroke in 1630, was made Lord Chamberlain to Charles I. in 1625 and Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1641, and was the last to hold the office of Constable of Queenborough Castle. He married as his second wife the famous Ann, Countess of Dorset, of whom the following anecdote is worth telling. When Sir Joseph Williamson, the Secretary of State to Charles II., wrote to her, naming a candidate whom he wished her to nominate for her pocket-borough of Appleby in Westmore-

* *State Papers*, Domestic Series (Elizabeth), vol. lxxv., art. 4.

† *Ibid.*, art. 38.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxiv., pp. 18, 19.

land, the Countess replied, "I have been bullied by an usurper; I have been neglected by a Court; I will not be dictated to by a subject."

The history of Shurland House began with the traditional enterprise of the dauntless Baron Sir Robert. It may appropriately close with the anecdote of the equally dauntless Countess.

PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF "NOTES ON THE TEXTUS ROFFENSIS, BY DR. F. LIEBERMANN."

BY A. A. ARNOLD, F.S.A.

It is somewhat remarkable that hitherto only some very meagre references have been made in *Archæologia Cantiana* to the Textus Roffensis. The "Catalogue of the Library of the Priory of S. Andrew, Rochester," taken from it, appeared in Vol. VI., pp. 120—128, but with that and other slight exceptions, and some allusions to the pedigrees contained in it in Mr. Haigh's Paper on "The Jute, Angle, and Saxon Royal Pedigrees" in Vol. VIII., the book would seem to have almost escaped notice by any of the contributors to our Society's publication.

The Rev. A. J. Pearman, a member of our Council, in his recent work on the Diocese of Rochester (one of the series of Diocesan Histories published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1897), referred to the book "as one of the most remarkable documents in existence, and, as such, claiming a notice in any account of the Diocese of Rochester." He gives a short description of it, and after several references to Dr. Liebermann's MS., Mr. Pearman tells us that "during the seventeenth century this invaluable manuscript fell into the hands of a physician named Leonard, who secreted it for two years, but was at length forced by a decree of the Court of Chancery to restore it to its rightful owners. They were again in imminent danger of losing their property; for an accident having happened through stress of weather to the vessel in which Dr. Harris sent it to London, it lay for some hours under water. The doctor, who was one of the canons, had borrowed the MS. for the use of his intended History of Kent. It is now in safe custody and but little the worse for its immersion in the Thames."

Mr. Pearman had the advantage, in writing his remarks, of having before him some valuable notes on the Textus Roffensis which had been made by Dr. Felix Liebermann of Berlin. The learned

Doctor's name is as well known in England as in Germany for his conscientious researches and accurate work. In 1892 he published the *Quadripartitus*, an English law-book of 1114, and is the editor of the *Consiliatio Cnuti*, the *Leges Anglorum*, *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, and of other well-known publications. So far back as 1886 the Textus was lent to the British Museum by the Dean and Chapter for Dr. Liebermann's inspection and examination;* and again in 1893 he spent several days in the Cathedral library at Rochester examining and taking extracts from the volume. It was after this second examination that he favoured the Dean and Chapter with the notes which follow, and are the excuse for this introduction; and the publication of Mr. Pearman's volume having called attention to the notes, I have been permitted by the Dean and Chapter—with the approval of Dr. Liebermann—to make a transcript of them for publication in our Journal. Dr. Liebermann has indeed done more than give his approval—he has kindly revised the proof of the notes, and not only that, but he has added to them some further notes, and has made use of such fresh points as have come to his notice during the five years which have passed since the notes were originally written by him.

The Textus was exhibited among other MSS. of the same or

* A copy of his letter to the late Dean Scott on his first inspection of the volume, and which is to be taken as giving only his first impressions, is too interesting to be omitted, and is here given:—

“LONDON, Sept. 18, 1886.

“VERY REVEREND SIR,

“Having twice collated the Textus Roffensis, I have placed the precious MS. in the hands of Mr. E. M. Thompson, and now beg to thank you once more for the liberal permission you so kindly granted me to use it.

“I herewith note some points which may interest the owners of that invaluable treasure:—

“1. The volume once consisted of three parts: the first ended fol. 57, the second fol. 118. They were bound together not later than about A.D. 1400, at which time the foliation was done.

“2. The first scribe worked in Ernulf's time (this can be proved from the bishops' lists), though, judging by paleography only, the handwriting would rather appear to be a little later.

“3. There is no proof of Ernulf's authorship; the entry on the first page is not earlier than about A.D. 1300.

“4. The scribe used a Christ Church (Canterbury) volume, see fol. 57v.

“5. For the Laws of Alfred-Ine he used an ancient MS., whose obsolete language he was anxious to modernize for his own time: so he alters almost every *o* before nasals into *a*, and *i* into *y*, and introduces articles and prepositions; all this is the scribe's own work done by sharp erasures—your MS. is in fact almost a palimpsest. This discovery is most valuable for the history of the English language.

“6. Among the sources he used there was a collection of lists of English bishops. As ten out of these end about the year 990, it is quite clear that this collection belonged to Æthelred II.'s time.

similar kind in the British Museum for the Domesday Millenary commemoration in 1886; it was either in connection with this exhibition by the Paleographical Society, or on the publication of the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, that a facsimile of one of the pages of the volume was made, and I am enabled by the courtesy of Dr. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum, to add a copy of this facsimile (see pp. 97, 98). It is folio 44 of the original, and the passage forms, or rather includes, a portion of folio 50 of Lambard's translation of it in the *Archæionomia*; it is a part of one of the laws of King Edward (A.D. 900—924), edited by Dr. Liebermann in his *Gesetze*, pp. 142, 184.

Accompanying the facsimile was a description of the Textus, which is here given:—

ROCHESTER. CHAPTER LIBRARY.

Series II., Plate 73.

“TEXTUS ROFFENSIS.”—[12TH CENTURY.]

The Laws of Kent and of the Anglo-Saxon kings of England and of William I., together with a chartulary of the lands of the church of Rochester, and lists of early popes, kings, bishops, etc.; Latin and Anglo-Saxon. Compiled in the time of Bishop Ernulph, who died in 1125. Vellum; 234 leaves, measuring 9 by 6½ inches; with 24 lines in a page.

“7. For the short articles of William I. (which Stubbs thinks to be the only genuine rest of his legislation) your MS. is the oldest text (about 50 years older even than that which Stubbs first edited).

“8. Also for Henry I.'s Charter the Rochester text is the oldest known.

“9. The bishops' lists, which I hope soon to print, give some new names for Elmham (Norwich).

“10. The genealogy of Anglo-Saxon kings, fos. 8, 101, contains some names more than the text which precedes the (Alfredian) Anglo-Saxon Annals. I shall edit this form also, which was brought down to Æthelred II. (*cf.* No. 6).

“11. There existed a common source for your MS. and the Corpus Cambridge MS. 383. Not only do the readings and faults of both these codices coincide, but there is also the ‘charm for stolen cattle’ in both of them, not yet printed from the latter MS.

“12. The *Decreta Pontificum*, f. 81, I find to be excerpted from Pseudo-Isidorus. They do not come from Gratian's Canon Law. This is very important for the history of English ecclesiastical law. [Of course the author may have used a special continental tract, which however I am not able to identify.] The contents however are hardly worth printing.

“13. All the other pieces are printed.

“14. The Catalogue of Rochester books, interesting for the literary history of the Anglo-Normans generally, mentions our very MS., part I., on fol. 228, l. i.

“15. The British Museum copy of Hearne's *Textus Roffensis* contains MS. Collations (done for Dering) with your Codex. This was not then known to S. Pegge, whose learned Paper (in the *Topogr. Britann.*, vol. i.) is, I think, by far the best history of your MS.

“Believe me to remain, Very Rev. Sir,

“Your obedient Servant,

“F. LIEBERMANN.”

fruman ne feopmian wille. ne gepalder. Gif
 hpa ðis ofen hebbe. 7 his ad. 7 his god wece de
 eal ðeod ze seald h æfð. bete swa domboe wece.
 Gif he ðonne nelle. ðolize ure ealra fneonscipes.
 7 ealles ðas ðe he aze. Gif hine hpa feopmize
 sy ðan. bete swa seo domboe sæcge. 7 se scyle ðe
 flyman feopmize. Gif hit sy hep inne. gif hit
 sy east inne. gif hit sy noðð inne. bete be ðam
 þe þa frud gehwitu sæcgan. Gif hpa þurh stæl
 ciltlan fneot forwyrce. 7 his hand on hand
 sylle. 7 hine his mægas forlætan. 7 he nyste
 hpa him forþe bete. ðonne sy he ðas ðeop weor-
 ces wyrde. ðe ðær to gebyrge. 7 oð fealle se
 weorðam mægam. Ne under for nan man adnes
 mannes man butan þæs leafe ðe he ær syliz
 de. 7 hæp he sylle ðe leas wif ælce hand. gif hit
 hpa do. bete mine ofershyrnesse. Ic wille þæt
 ælc gepesfa hæbbe gemot a ymbe feowen wu-
 ean. 7 gedon ðæt ælc man sy folc wiles wyrde.
 7 ðæt ælc spæc hæbbe ende. 7 andagan hwe-
 ne hit forð cume. gif hit hpa ofen hebbe.
 bete swa þe ær cwædon. Eadmundes cyminges

EADMUND cyming aser nyste. vid.
 gesomnode mycelne sinod to lundebyrig p. 8

The list of the archbishops of Canterbury (f. 110 b), originally brought down to Ralph d'Escures, *ob.* 1122, is continued by a second, and apparently not much later, hand to Richard, who succeeded in 1174 and died in 1184. The same hand makes additions also to the list of the Rochester bishops, the last being that of Waleran, who succeeded in 1182 and died in 1184.

Gatherings. The MS. is made up of quires of various sizes, but generally of eight leaves. There are two sets of signatures. Those which mark the quires in the earlier part of the volume shew that probably as much as three more quires once stood at the beginning. They must, however, have been lost before the early part of the 14th century, as the title of the book, “Textus de ecclesia Roffensi, per Ernulphum Episcopum,” is written in a hand of that time on the first page. The second set of signatures begins with the chartulary (f. 119), shewing that the present volume is made up of two MSS.; but they have been written at the same time and in the same form.

Ruling. On one side of the leaf with a hard point; except on a few inserted leaves of a rather later date, in which plummet is used.

Writing. There is a variety of writing in the course of the volume, in the strong bold style characteristic of the 12th century. The curved mark of contraction peculiar to the period, and the sparing use of the round s, may be noticed.

Ornamentation. Simple initials of green and red are used throughout the volume; and at the beginning of the chartulary the large letter R is formed of the standing figure of an angel and a winged dragon, coloured with green, lake, and vermilion.

It may be of interest also to have the page of the “facsimile” in modern Anglo-Saxon characters, together with Lambarde’s translation of a portion of it into Latin, and from the Latin into English. These are therefore appended here:—

THE “FACSIMILE PAGE” OF THE TEXTUS ROFFENSIS,
PRINTED IN MODERN TYPE.

*friðian ne feormian . willes ne gewældes . Gif
hwa ðis oferhebbe . and his að . and his wæd brece ðe
eal ðeod geseald hæfð . bete swa dómboe tæce .
Gif he ðonne nelle . ðolige ure ealra freonscipes .
and ealles ðæs ðe he age . Gif hine hwa feormige
syððan . bete swa seo domboc sæge . and se seyle ðe
flyman feormige . Gif hit sý her inne . gif hit
sý east inne . gif hit sý norð inne . bete be ðam
þe þa frið gehwritu sægan.† . Gif hwa þurh stæl

* The last words of the preceding page are “ne fúl nāwar” (= nor foul anywhere), but they are not, as Lambarde supposed, the beginning of this paragraph, which commences with the words “Eac ic wylle pæt æle man hæbbe” (three lines before).

† Here this “law” ends in Lambarde’s numeration.

tihtlan freot forwyrce . and his hand on hand
 sýlle . and hine his magas forlætan . and he nýte
 hwa him fore bete . ðonne sý he ðæs ðeow weor
 ces wýrðe . ðe ðær to gebýrige . and oðfealle se
 wer ðam magum . Ne underfó nan man oðres
 mannes man butan þæs leafe ðe he ær fýlig-
 de . and hær he sýllað leas wið ælce hand . gif hit
 hwa dó . bete mine oferhýrnesse . Ic wille þæt
 ælc gerefa hæbbe gemot á ýmbe feower wu-
 can . and gedon ðæt ælc man sý folcrihtes wýrðe .
 and ðæt ælc spræc hæbbe ende . and andagan hwæn-
 ne hit forðcume . gif hit hwa oferhebbe .
 bete swa we ær cwædon. Eadmundes cýninges

ÆDMUND cýning asetnýsse .
 Gesomnode mýcelne sinoð to lundebýrig

Lambarde's translation of the first portion of the facsimile page (see fol. 50 of the "Archaionomia"), being one of the laws of Edward. Lambarde entitles it: "De eo qui sceleris damnatum admisericit."

Nemo cum sceleris damnato pacem habeto, neve eum sciens volensque hospitio exceipito: qui contra fecerit, adeoque iurjurandum violarit fidemque a se & universa plebe datam fefellerit, id mulctæ quod in judiciali libro describitur, subito. Id si recusarit, nostra et reliquorum omnium amicitia privatus, fortunis suis omnibus mulctator.

Atque si quis ei deinceps suppetias tulerit, is etiam id compensationis quod in libro judiciali continetur, præstato.

Porro autem qui fugitivo, sive in hac nostra, sive in orientali, aut boreali regni plaga victum subministrarit, prout ipsa jubent pacis conscripta, plectitor.

Translation of the "facsimile page" from "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England" (1840) [with illustrations by Dr. Liebermann in brackets], by Price and B. Thorpe, p. 70.

7. Also I will that every man have constantly those men ready on his land who may lead those men who desire to seek their own [stragglng cattle], and for no meed-monies prevent them, nor anywhere protect or harbour a convicted offender [a criminal] wilfully nor violently [intentionally].

8. If any one disregard this, and break his oath and his "wed" [formal promise], which all the nation has given, let him make "bôt" [amends] as the doombook may teach; but if he will not, let him forfeit the friendship of us all, and all that he has. If any one harbour him after that, let him make "bôt" as the doombook may say, and as he ought who harbours a fugitive [banished outlaw] if it be here within [England proper]. If it be in the east country [East Anglia], if it be in the north country [Northumbria], let him make "bôt" according as the "frithgewritu" [articles of the peace with the Norse invaders] say.

9. If any one, through a charge of theft, forfeit his freedom, and deliver himself up [to slavery], and his kindred forsake him, and he know not who shall make "bôt" for him, let him then be worthy of the "theow" [servile] work which thereto belongs, and let the "wër" [payment for his person in case he be slain] abate from the kindred.

10. Let no man receive another man's man [*vassal*] without his leave whom he before followed [*was subjected to*], and until he be blameless towards every hand. If any one so do, let him make “bōt” my “oferhyenes” [*the mulet for disobedience to me, the King*].

11. I will that each reeve have a “gemōt” [*Court of Law*] always once in four weeks; and so do that every man be worthy of folk-right [*be treated according to common law*], and that every suit have an end and a term when it shall be brought forward [*ended, settled*]. If that any one disregard, let him make “bōt” as we before ordained.

King Edmund's Institutes [p. 104].

King Edmund assembled a great synod at London.

It is very much to be desired that the Chartulary or second part of the *Textus* should be edited by a competent Anglo-Saxon scholar having the necessary topographical knowledge. Nothing in this way has, I believe, been done since the publication by J. Thorpe in 1769. It was contemplated by the British Archæological Association in 1853 to undertake the work, but it appears never to have been carried out.

NOTE.

I am able to add from a local newspaper the account given of the “*Textus*” by Mr. Black, formerly Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, on the occasion of the visit of the British Archæological Association to Rochester in 1853. The Paper, although mentioned in the *Journal of the Association* (vol. ix., p. 358), seems never to have been published.

Mr. Black's Paper was entitled “On the Contents, Compiler, and Handwriting of the celebrated Record of Rochester, called the *Textus Roffensis*,” and this is the report of it:—

“After a brief notice of the importance of this Record to the antiquary, whether engaged in legal, or historical, or topographical researches, he distributed its contents into three parts or classes:—1, Anglo-Saxon laws and institutions; 2, Charters and other grants to Rochester Cathedral; and 3, Miscellaneous pieces touching the rights and possessions of the see, and of the church of St. Andrew, in Rochester. The first part comprises the laws of Wihtred and other Kentish kings, with the forms of oaths for various purposes, the ceremonies of ordeal, or the judgment of God (as it was called) in certain cases, by the use of red-hot iron, boiling water, immersion in water, or barley-bread and cheese. These curious and important contents are, for the most part, in the Anglo-Saxon language and character, and have been preserved to us with few exceptions in this MS. only. Among them are some singular genealogies of the Saxon kings, traced up to Adam, through a son or grandson of Noah, said to have been born in the ark of Scafa. The second part contains various charters of the kings of Kent and Wessex,

and their successors, from Ethelbert to Henry I. inclusively, together with several testaments bequeathing lands, etc. These latter, and the boundaries of the lands mentioned in the former, are described in Anglo-Saxon. This part of the volume is a chartulary or register-book of most ancient documents from the first planting of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons to the beginning of the 12th century; and the principal of them were enumerated and described by Mr. Black. The third part consists of the lists of benefactions and churches belonging to the see of Rochester, statements regarding its possessions and privileges, and a remarkable catalogue of the library of the cathedral, with two or three later documents added after the original compilation, the latest being of the time of Edward III. Mr. Black then proceeded to explain the origin and meaning of the title by which the book is known; and the original MS. being exhibited, by permission of the Dean and Chapter, he pointed out a note on the first page containing these words, *Textus de Ecclesia Roffen. per Ernulfum Episcopum*. Mr. Black quoted several ancient authorities to shew that the word *Textus* was used to designate a gospel-book written in large letters, such as the books of Durham and Kells, and the Countess Goda's Gospels, in the British Museum, which formerly belonged to this cathedral. The term was perhaps applied to this book on account of its large writing and the solemn nature of its contents. He then undertook to shew that the MS. was not written or compiled by Bishop Ernulf, as is commonly supposed; having, on inspection of the original about twenty-four years ago, at once perceived the identity of the handwriting with that of Humphrey the precentor of Rochester, who was contemporary with Bishop Ernulf, and who wrote several noble MSS. still preserved in the British Museum. He proved, from various examples of like notes, written in books formerly belonging to this cathedral, that the word *per* did not imply authorship, but benefaction; of which the most striking proof consists in a note in the same words, written by the same hand in the Countess Goda's Gospels, ending thus, *per Godam Comitissam*; and in one instance the word *donatus* occurs. Mr. Black then gave an outline of the Catalogue of the Library as recorded in the *Textus* about A.D. 1120, also of another catalogue thereof made in A.D. 1202, in which he pointed out the mistake made by Denne in imagining that the monks of Rochester were not provided with a single copy of the entire Scriptures, by producing proof that they were abundantly supplied with copies of the Scriptures, commentaries on them, works of the Latin fathers, Latin classics, Anglo-Saxon homilies, and works on law and medicine."

NOTES ON THE TEXTUS ROFFENSIS.*

BY DR. F. LIEBERMANN, BERLIN.

Section 1. Former descriptions of the Textus Roffensis.—2. Date of the joining of the different parts.—3. Two works contained in it.—4. Till when separate.—5. Traces of separate existence.—6. The first work A formed out of two volumes.—7. The inscription covers, most likely, all the three volumes.—8. In what sense was Ernulf considered to be the author?—9. Not Ernulf's autograph.—10. Age of the handwriting.—11. Ernulf is the father of the Textus.—12. I am concerned only with the Leges.—12A. Authors of Collections who have used the Textus itself.—13. The Chartulary of different hands.—14. The oldest one, of about 1145, perhaps identical with the writer of the Leges.—14A. Value of the Chartulary.—15. Every piece of the part A (Leges) is but a copy.—16. But some pieces are only preserved to us in this Textus Roffensis.—17. Roffensis used a few large compilations; he did not collect State Papers.—18. One of his sources was a Christ Church (Canterbury) volume.—19. There existed a common source used by Roffensis and Corpus Cambridge 383.—20. One of Roffensis' sources was a composition of about A.D. 1000.—21. Distinct groups in Roffensis A.—22. Kentish Law.—23. Alfred and Edmund groups.—24. Æthelstan group.—25. Instituta Cnuti.—26. The Canonical Tract.—26A. The Mass.—27. The Successions.—28. The History of Textus Roffensis since the sixteenth century.—29. Concordance between Textus Roffensis and the best prints.

1. A careful Catalogue of the contents of the Textus Roffensis was given (a) by Wanley, *Libr. Septentrional Catal.* 1705, p. 273, which forms vol. iii. of Hickes' *Antiq. liter. Septentr.*; (b) Pegge, *Archæologia*, i. (1770); (c) Schmid *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1858, p. xxiii. A short mention of it and a very meagre biography of Ernulf are to be found in T. D. Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relative to Great Britain*, ii., p. 150. A facsimile of folio 44 is in plate 73 of the *Palæograph. Soc.*, ii. ser., 1894.

2. The Textus was foliated about A.D. 1400. Therefore the different parts of which it consists [see secs. 3—6] had been brought under one cover at the end of the fourteenth century at the latest, but perhaps earlier; not, however, earlier than the middle of the twelfth century (see sec. 4). If my hypothesis in sec. 7 about the meaning of "Textus Roffensis" is right, the connection between Laws and Records exists at least since the end of the thirteenth century.

3. Two different works are contained in the Textus:—

- A. Leges, without an original collective title.
- B. *Privilegia S. Andreae Hrofnensis.*

According to the original inscription on f. 119, B was begun not much, if at all, later than A (*cf.* sec. 14).

* These remarks were hastily jotted down in 1893, and were not intended to be printed. The reader, therefore, is requested kindly to pardon the quantity of formal shortcomings, too numerous to be corrected in the proof sheets.—F. Liebermann.

4. A was separate from B in the middle of the twelfth century, because among the different pieces of B there is, f. 228. a Catalogue of the Cathedral Library (ed. Coates.* *Archæologia Cantiana*, 1866, Vol. VI., p. 126), naming as its first number at the top *Instituta Regum Anglorum, i.e. A or A's*, vol. ii.

5. A and B were bound under separate covers. This is proved by sec. 4. and by the fact that the quire (quaternio) commencing on f. 119 and ending on f. 126 verso is marked I. on the lower margin. Accordingly f. 134 verso is marked II. and so on. As a third argument that a new volume begins on f. 119, I may adduce that fos. 117, 118 must have been fly-leaves. Formerly they were empty; the insertions on them are of later date.

6. But A itself consists of two volumes not originally bound together, the former of which ended f. 57 verso, which still bears the character of a fly-leaf. Accordingly fos. 65, 73, 87, 95, shew under their back pages the faint quire marks I., II., III., IIII. These marks have been sometimes cut by the binder of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or perhaps by a more modern one. There is also an internal division between these two parts of A, viz., the former volume contains laws not later than about A.D. 1080, while the latter begins with a twelfth-century translation, and contains Henry I.'s Charter.

7. The inscription on the first page "per Ernulfum Episcopum" was written about the end of the thirteenth century. It remains uncertain whether its scribe intended to designate Ernulf as the author of all the three volumes. Perhaps, if the three volumes were not all under one binding at that time, he intended to ascribe to Ernulf the authorship of A 1 only. More likely, however, he meant all the three volumes, as the local tradition in the sixteenth century considered the Textus as it now is as one whole compiled by Ernulf; besides, a book would hardly be called Textus Roffensis if it had contained only (as fos. 1—57, even fos. 1—118 do) universal English matter without local reference, while the title "Textus Roffensis" is very appropriate for a Rochester Chartulary connected with legal matter. The word Textus means sometimes Chartulary, Ledger-book, Register. MS. Cotton, Vespas. A 22, quotes among the books given by Ernulf: *Textum*.

8. Ernulf's authorship must not be understood in a modern sense; there is *no* author† of Textus Roffensis in our sense. Nor must the inscription of 1300 necessarily mean anything more than a collector or compiler; nay, it even designates, perhaps, only the owner, and (afterwards) donor or bequeather of the volume.

9. Ernulf's own hand has most likely not written any stroke in the whole volume, because great Bishops were used to leave this tedious copyist's work to junior clerks. It is certain that he did not write the Chartulary, the oldest hand of which penned a record of 1146. It is not impossible, though not the slightest argument is to be dis-

* He collated the later catalogue of 1202 (ed. Rye, *ib.* iii., 47).

† Sterne therefore (Tristram Shandy) ought not to have made Ernulf responsible for an anathema which is purely Anglo-Saxon.

covered for it, that Ernulf did the correction of the early part of the work.

10. The character of the handwriting is decidedly everywhere later than the style of the eleventh century. The general look of it would point rather to 1140—1150; but a monk born, say 1100, would shew the same penmanship in 1120 as in 1145. Educated and induced to copy this volume by Ernulf, he would designate it as Ernulf's work, though he might continue it through two decades after the Bishop's death. The list of the Archbishops of Canterbury (f. 110 v.) seems to be written by the same man who wrote the Kentish Laws (f. 1), though of course at a later period of his work. Now this list appears to have been done under Archbishop William, as his name is the first without obit's date, and by a later hand. (The Rochester List having been tampered with by erasures, proves only that since 1148 a contemporary continuator was at work.) The pieces which are latest in date in part A, viz., the *Instituta Cnuti*, and Henry's Charter, shew in the majority of cases still *æ* or *ē* (for the classical *æ*), only rarely the mere *e*, which becomes universal after about 1150.

11. In the limited sense here pointed out Ernulf may be called the father of *Textus Roffensis*, or its first collector.

A. In the first place the character of the man answers very well to this part. Ernulf, perhaps owing to his French (not Norman) nationality, had a feeling for the antiquity of the Anglo-Saxons. Under him the Anglo-Saxon Eadmer became Precentor of Christ Church; under him the last Anglo-Saxon historical phrases* were penned in Christ Church; under him Peterborough finished the string of the Anglo-Saxon annals.† The prayer of the Anglo-Saxon historian (A.D. 1114) for Ernulf is touching indeed; also (A.D. 1124) he is called "eadig," i.e. beatus. On the other hand Ernulf must have possessed a certain *legal* training: (a) coming out of Ivo's school and Lanfranc's;‡ (b) at Canterbury as well as at Peterborough he cared for the Monastic temporalities; the Chartulary would be considered as part of the "exterior" (administrative) business; (c) Ernulf was deeply interested in the struggle between Church and State under Anselm (see Anselm's *Correspondence*); (d) Ernulf got from Anselm important State Papers to be preserved and copied at Christ Church (see especially Ep. Anselmi, iv., 40, f. 58, A.D. 1104); (e) Ernulf is known as a scholar§ and an author legally trained;|| (f) the material of the *Textus* came partly from Canterbury, as Ernulf himself did (see below, sec. 18).

* Edited by me, *Anglonormann. Geschichtsquellen*, p. 1.

† Edited by Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, cf. p. xlviij.

‡ Both Ivo and Ernulf were in monastic houses at Beauvais about the same time. They corresponded, and Rochester possessed, about 1120—1150, *Epistolarium Ivonis Carnotensis*, according to *Textus Roffensis*, f. 227.

§ Cf. Liebermann, *Raginald von Canterbury*, p. 527.

|| He wrote, 1089—1098, to Bishop Walkelin of Winchester, *De Incestis Conjugiis*, a tract of Canon Law, at the end of which he refers to a personal conversation about the matter with the late Lanfranc. This was printed by D'Achery (Ed. *La Barre*, iii., 464), and thence by Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 163, 1458. Raginald, p. 539, l. 2, puts him into the rank of doctors who rule and legislate.

B. Several of these features (*a* to *f'*) do not fit in with the character of Bishop Ralph, or of Bishops John, Asecline, and Walter, while for Gundulf's time (see below, sec. 14) the handwriting of the Textus would be too late, and for the end of the twelfth century too early. A second younger scribe was already at work about 1130 (sec. 14, *c*); also the linguistic forms are too well preserved for the reign of Henry II. If the work had been begun after Bishop John, Stephen's coronation charter would hardly be wanting. We should find the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor, or of Henry, or pieces from the Latin Quadripartitus; instead of the Canonistic tract on fos. 81—88, we should have got an extract out of Gratian (see below, sec. 26); instead of Anglo-Saxon we should find Latin, as Rochester wrote its annals in Latin about 1170. The original end of the Canterbury and Rochester lists, fos. 110, 111, fits in with Ernulf's time; later continuators carry them on into the reign of Henry II. (*a*) If the Textus had been written by order of the Prior of Rochester without the Bishop's knowledge, or if it had been composed just a few years before or after Ernulf's episcopate, it would be very hard to explain how it could come to be traditionally called Ernulf's.

12. The Textus has been used by me only as far as it concerns Anglo-Saxon laws; besides, I tried only to ascertain facts about the origin of the volume. I therefore hardly looked through part B, the Chartulary. This was printed almost entirely by John Thorpe (*Registrum Roffense*, Lond., 1769, folio). Single pieces from it were selected by almost every writer on the Anglo-Saxons, or on Kent, or on Early English Law, or on the Early English Church. After Hearne (see sec. 28), Wilkins, and J. Thorpe, only very few antiquaries went to the Textus itself, the majority relying on the printed books. For the important exceptions, see sec. 12A. For the antiquaries who used Textus Roff. before Hearne and Thorpe, see below, sec. 28, *a—p*.

12A. Record Collections whose authors used Textus itself:—

1. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, Lond., 1839—1848. He gave all the Textus Charters.

2. Benjamin Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Ævi Saxonici*, 1865. He printed a few Roffensis Charters. However, he sometimes simply repeated Kemble's print.

3. John Earle's *Hand-book to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, 1888. He printed some Charters, if I mistake not, mostly out of Kemble.

4. Walter de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*. He has printed every Charter out of the Textus Roffensis itself. His vol. ii., 1887, reaches as far as A.D. 947, and vol. iii. only to 975.

13. The Chartulary is written by different hands.*

14. The oldest hand may be identical with the writer of the Leges (Part A). It certainly comes from the same Scriptorium

* The portions (Hearne's Edition, p. 153) mentioning Henry I. and Archbishop Ralph are of later hand.

and age. The latest entry of this oldest hand I have found is of A.D. 1146, f. 206=Jaffé-Löwenfeld, *Reg. Pontif.*, No. 6215.

(a) This oldest scribe calls Gundulf "beatæ memoriæ," that is to say, he wrote after 1108.

(b) He wrote after Ernulf's consecration, f. 190 v.=Hearne's Edition, p. 180. By the first hand is also f. 183; f. 196 v.=Hearne, p. 191; f. 199=Hearne, p. 196; f. 228, Library Catalogue.

(c) On the other hand the records of about 1130—1150 are generally by a later hand, for instance, f. 203=Hearne, p. 203 (A.D. 1125—1136); Imar of Tusculum's Charter, 1142—1159; Eugenius iv.=Hearne, p. 208.

14A. The pieces of which the Record register consists still partly exist in the original. For instance, the Charter of A.D. 778 which Roffensis, f. 129, copied can be collated with his transcript; and this comparison proves that he worked most carefully. (*Cf.* Earle, *Land Charters*, 53.) I cannot tell whether every piece in the Register has been printed; if not, all the records are sure to appear with Walter de Gray Birch (see above, sec. 12A, No. 4). If there are, however, other unprinted pieces in the Charters they would not concern him, and ought to be edited at once.

15. No piece of Part A is original, that is to say, the writer did not compose one phrase in the volume; he was a copyist throughout.

16. But the direct source is not known to us of any element of the work. There are several pieces for which Roffensis gives better readings (*i.e.* a more original text) than any other Codex, and of some pieces there is no other MS. existing. Textus is unique for fos. 1—5, Kentish Law; 32, Ordeal; 32 v., Tomb-robbery; 38, King's Peace; 47, William I. in Anglo-Saxon; 48, Æthelred's Wantage Statute; 49 v., Exorcismus (well known in other arrangements of its elements, at least partly); 81 v., Accusatores [the single decreta are mostly (perhaps all of them) known, but the tract as a whole in this form is a copy of a work perhaps otherwise lost]; 88, Æthelstan's London Law.

17. The labour of collecting,* bringing into order, and ascribing to the different kings, had been at least partly done in a lost volume, from which the Roffensis scribe copied page after page. There are several proofs of this.

(a) On f. 44 the laws of Edmund follow Eadward, leaving out Æthelstan. The same curious omission occurs also in the Corpus Cambridge MS. 383, and in the Quadripartitus† (no doubt also in his lost Anglo-Saxon original).‡ Both of these latter works are not derived from Roffensis. All three must therefore have been derived from a (lost) legal compilation, written *circa* 950—1080.

* Rochester possessed, according to the Catalogue quoted in sec. 4, several Anglo-Saxon volumes, viz., *Pastoralis*, *i.e.* King Alfred's version of St. Gregory, and *Sermonalia Anglica* in vol. ii., *i.e.* Aelfric.

† Edited by me, p. 133.

‡ In the same way Roffensis and Corpus Cambridge 383 put after Alfred-Ine: Be blaserum, and Be forfange (*cf.* below, sec. 19).

(b) The Wessex genealogy on f. 7 verso goes before the laws of Alfred-Ine. The same connection exists in Corpus Cambridge 173, a Christ Church volume of about 930.

(c) Folio 57 verso, the scribe begins to copy a Christ Church Charter, but breaks off in the middle of the sentence, perceiving that this local Canterbury matter does not concern Rochester. He would surely never have picked out this single record foreign to his monastery, but would easily be misled into copying what he found in his source.

(d) Fos. 100—111 contain Catalogues of Princes and Prelates; these are, all of them, a mere copy of a well-known and widespread work, begun about A.D. 815 at Canterbury. Among its numerous MSS. Roffensis is most akin to Cotton, Tiberius B, V, about A.D. 1000. Both of them bring the lists of the Bishops of Leicester, Lichfield, Hereford, Lindsey, Dunwich, and York, exactly to the same date, as does MS. Corpus Cambridge 183, but nine other lists end in Roffensis and Tiberius about A.D. 990. In Tiberius and Roffensis (and in no other MS. of this work) two Archbishops of Canterbury of that time are honoured by surnames—the “Good One,” “*Dei amicus*.” I therefore conclude that their common source* was a Canterbury monk continuing his predecessor’s work of the ninth century about the end of the tenth.

18. The volume, or one of the volumes, copied by Roffensis was a Christ Church book. (See above, sec. 17, *b, c, d*.)

19. One (lost) source of Roffensis was used also by Corpus Cambridge 383† (see above, sec. 17, *a*), as in the Laws of Alfred-Ine, Edward, Æthelstan II., they offer some common readings deviating from the other MSS.

Secondly, Roffensis, f. 95, “charm for stolen cattle,” answers in many peculiarities to 383, while other MSS. differ. This charm does occur in many other MSS., but only in two in the middle of legal matter, viz., in Roffensis and 383.

Thirdly, Roffensis, f. 7 verso, and MS. 383 contain the Wessex Genealogy, *cf.* below, sec. 23.

20. One of the Collectanea volumes copied by Roffensis had been composed about A.D. 1000, as the Wessex Genealogy, f. 8, ends at a time when the duration of Æthelred’s reign was not yet known; also the tabular work (see above, sec. 17, *d*) was derived from a composition of about 990. Perhaps the two works of about A.D. 1000, mentioned in this sec. 20, formed one identical volume.

21. There are distinct groups to be discerned in the Textus:—

(a) Kentish group, fos. 1—5, exists only here; (b) Early Wessex, fos. 7 v.—32, exists also in Corpus Cambridge 383 (see above, sec. 19); (c) Æthelstan group, fos. 32 v.—37; (d) Edward-

* Roffensis, though younger, gives some better readings than Tiberius, and is therefore not derived from it.

† This comes from St. Paul’s, London; it was written about A.D. 1120. By the Editors of Anglo-Saxon Law it is called B.

Edmund group; (*e*) *Instituta Cnuti*, fos. 58—80; (*f*) *Successions of Kings and Prelates*, fos. 101—116. They constitute one work.

22. The Kentish law does not appear in the *Textus* in a language which can have been spoken in Kent about 600 and 700, but generally in the Wessex forms of about A.D. 1000. The modernization is far too harmonious to be a mere copyist's work of the twelfth century, who can easily be proved* sometimes to have misunderstood his text. I conclude, therefore, that *Roffensis* used a book where the three first pieces had already been collected and transliterated. There remain, however, in the *Textus Roffensis* some distinct traces of very early and Kentish provincial dialect.†

23. The early Wessex group. Alfred himself embodied Ine's laws into his code. The Wessex genealogy was connected with these laws already in their oldest MS., viz., MS. *Corpus Cambridge* 173, of the beginning of the tenth century (*cf.* sec. 17, *b*). From this MS. the genealogy was printed in B. Thorpe, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*,‡ but *Roffensis* gives a continuation through the tenth century. In this connection I suppose Alfred's law and genealogy came into the hands of a man who augmented them by some short paragraphs, and modernized them by:—(*a*) putting in definite articles; (*b*) putting in prepositions instead of the instrumental case; (*c*) avoiding obsolete words, *geswican*, *unsyngian*, *middangeard*.

This anonymous scribe may have annexed the Edward-Edmund group (see sec. 21, *d*). At any rate his work, as well as the latter group, was clearly used, not only by *Roffensis*, but by *Corpus Cambridge* 383 (*cf.* above, sec. 19).

Roffensis shews a distinct trace of having used (though as I said not directly) an Alfredian MS., in preserving the vowel *ö* before nasals; for instance in *mön*, which either the copyist or the corrector modernized by adding a stroke and perverting into *man*; in the same way single vowels have been altered into broken ones, and *i* into *y*.

24. The *Æthelstan* group is only partly preserved in MS. *Corpus Cambridge* 383, out of which, unluckily, many leaves have been torn. Even this *may* belong to the same class of laws mentioned in sec. 23.

25. The Latin version of *Cnut* is not the common one printed by Thorpe§ and Schmid,§ but the so-called *Instituta Cnuti*,|| printed by Kolderup-Rosenvinge, *Anniversaria Univers. Havn.* (Kopenhagen, 1826), where *Roffensis* has been collated.

26. The Canonical tract about the suitor in Ecclesiastical Law seems to me (who unluckily took too short notes of it) to be a copy or an extract from a work written shortly before Gratian. The decretals it contains are not all of them to be found in Gratian

* He confounded *h* with the thorn-rune, and he separated the words wrongly.

† Another archaic trace is the use of the *f*-like form for *y*.

‡ Sweet, *Oldest Texts*, 179, printed a fragment from Additional MS. 23,211, of the ninth century.

§ See sec. 28, *w*.

|| Cf. *Transact. Histor. Soc.*, 1893, p. 77.

or Ivo, or *Anselmo Dedicata*, or *Benedictus Levita*, or Burchard, but they—at least those I noted—come from Pseudo-Isidorus, hardly, however, directly.* This tract ought to be identified (which could easily be done if one had the inscription and first two or three words of every decretal). It may be an “Ineditum,” and may constitute a hitherto unknown monument either of Ernulf’s canonistic scholarship or of his school; at any rate it is an important link in the history of the canon law, introduced into England from Bee through Lanfranc, Anselm, and their circle. Possibly the same canonistic collection was used by Roffensis and by the contemporary author of the so-called *Leges Henrici I.*

26A. I have no note whatever of the treatise about the Mass, f. 116 v. There exist legions of similar tracts. The identification could not be difficult from three or four lines of the beginning. Can it be connected with Ernulf’s letter to Lambert of St. Bertin about the sacrifice of the altar? This was printed by D’Achery and Migne. (See above, sec. 11.)

27. The lists of Princes and Prelates are only partially printed from Roffensis by Gale and Hearne (see below), and made use of by the authors of *Fasti Eccl. Anglic.*, for instance Hardy’s *Le Nere* (1854), and Will. Stubbs’ *Registr. sacr. Angl.* (1858). Only the Anglo-Saxon Princes and Prelates are at all of historical importance. They have been printed, and commented on from several MSS. which are older and better than Roffensis. These lists, therefore, are valuable chiefly from the later inserted continuations, because these by the date of their handwriting help to determine the age when Textus was in process of formation.

(a) F. 101, Wessex Genealogy. An older form of this exists in Cotton, Tiberius B, V, of about A.D. 1000, f. 22; cf. Kemble, *Stammtafel der Westsachsen* (München 1836), p. 10. This ends with Æthelred II., while Roffensis, or rather his source, added Eadmund, 1016. This number (a), as well as below (b) and (c), were printed, though not from Roffensis, in Wright and Halliwell’s *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii., pp. 169—173 (from Tiber. B, V), in *Florence of Worcester* (see below, g), in *Alfred of Beverley*, in Langebeke, *Script. Hist. Dan.*, ii., 1770.

(b) F. 102. *The not-Wessex Heptarchy* (cf. Tiber. B, V, f. 22 v.), printed from Vespasian B, VI, of the beginning of the ninth century in Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, 169.

(c) F. 103 v. *Hec sunt genealogia Regum Occid. Sax.* = Tiberius B, V, f. 23.

(d) F. 105, Popes. The first band ends exactly at the same point as the earliest known MS. of this work, Vespasian B, VI, with “99 Leo Sanctus,” 816. The other one of Henry II.’s reign leads on from “C. Stephanus [816]—Celestinus” [1191—1198]. This continuation must have been written 1191—1198. This list was printed by Pauli, *Neues Archiv*, v. 63, 1880, from Tiber. B, V, f. 19 v.

* Its source may have been one or both of the works which the Catalogue, 227 v., entitles, *Canones et decreta pontificum* (possibly Pseudo-Isidore) and *Exceptiones de eisdem*.

(e) F. 107, Emperors' List. The beginning of this was most likely on the lost former leaf, 107 verso, which has been now replaced.* The List now commences "34. Constantinus filius Constantini et Helene" [323—331], and ends "67 Leo." I cannot tell for certain whether Leo IV., 775—780, is meant; generally the lists leap from him to the Frankish Emperors. The same Catalogue is in Tiber. B, V, f. 20.

(f) F. 107 verso *The Oriental Patriarchs*. The same Catalogue is in Tiberius B, V, f. 20 v. Jerusalem ends in A.D. 386.

(g) F. 110 v., *The Anglo-Saxon Bishops*. This collection exists also in Vespasian B, VI, f. 108; Sweet, *Oldest Texts*, p. 167, published its Anglo-Saxon names. The whole work is printed, only in a continued and altered form (viz., in *Florence of Worcester*,† of about A.D. 1115), but its author lived and all of the lists ended originally in 800—810. From six other MSS., partly of the ninth century,‡ and from Roffensis the work could be reconstructed. Among them Tiberius B, V, f. 20, is next akin to Roffensis in this respect as in the foregoing numbers a—f, though not his source. They both used a common Canterbury source of about A.D. 990.§

28. The history of the Textus Roffensis is almost the history of Anglo-Saxon studies in general. If the archives of Rochester Cathedral contain MS. notes about the scholars who lent or read the Textus, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their publication would be a boon for the elucidation of the Anglo-Saxon revival.

(a) John Joscelyn used Anglo-Saxon legal MSS., and, it is said, also the Textus Roffensis for his Anglo-Saxon Glossary, which is now MS. Cotton, Titus A, 16.

(b) William Lambarde, the first editor of Anglo-Saxon law, did not know the Textus Roffensis when he published his *Archæologia*, 1568, 4º,|| but he perceived its paramount value at once¶ as soon as he saw it, and in his *Perambulation of Kent*, 1576,** he printed, pp. 307, 357, 364, from f. 193, Be Leod gefincðum, and from the Chartulary the duty of keeping Rochester Bridge in order and Beorhtric's Will.

(c) Francis Tate copied large parts of Textus Roffensis in 1589. So says Wanley (see sec. 1), p. 185 seq.; he describes this copy, Cotton MS., Julius C, 2 (see next line).

(d) An anonymous copy of the seventeenth century, descriptum ut videtur ex Jul. C, 2, is quoted by Wanley, p. 305.

(e) Henry Spelman, *Concilia et decreta Eccl. Britann.* (1639, fol.), vol. i., p. 127, printed the beginning of Text. Roff.: Æthelbert,

* Else one cannot see why a writer of the twelfth century begins the list of the Roman Emperors, f. 107, not by No. 1, but by No. 34.

† There are different editions, the best is *Monum. Hist. Britann.*, by Petrie, Sharpe and Hardy (1848), p. 616.

‡ Cf. Thompson's *Catalogue of Ancient MSS. in the British Museum* (1884), p. 79.

§ Cf. above, sec. 17, d. || Repeated by Abr. Wheloc, 1644, folio.

¶ See his marginal note signed W. L., 1573, Textus Roffensis, f. 1.

** Second edition 1596: third edition without date.

sec. 1. and p. 194, a Latin translation of Wihtred, and p. 406, Be hadbote=Roff., f. 7.

Spelman caused transcripts from Textus Roff. to be made for the use of Abr. Wheloc's projected Glossary, which exists in Harley MS. 761. Spelman sent these or other transcripts from the Textus to

(f) John de Laet, who published from those transcripts at Anvers, 1640, his Latin translation of the laws of Æthelbert and Hlothare without printing the Anglo-Saxon text.

(g) Wheloc, who in 1644 re-edited Lambarde's *Archaionomia* with many additions, did not use the Textus Roff.

(h) Edmund Gibson acquired John de Laet's, or rather Spelman's, Anglo-Saxon copy and gave it to George Hickes, who printed it in *Ling. vet. Sept. Thes. II., Diss. Epist.*, Oxon. 1703, folio, p. 89. This then was the first edition of the Kentish Law, except Wihtred, not taken from the Textus Roff. directly, but through an intermediate copy of about A.D. 1635. Furthermore, Hickes laid great stress on the importance of the different unedited parts of the Textus Roff., pp. 79—94, and printed (p. 79) Lambarde's marginal note (see above, b).

(i) William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonicum-Latino Angl.* (1659, fol.), used the Textus (or copies of it) and printed some short fragments from it. He printed some records of the Chartulary in his *History of Gavelkind*, 1660.

(j) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by Dodsworth and Dugdale (1681, fol.) (and perhaps the new *Monasticon* of Ellis still more so), contains Anglo-Saxon records most likely from Roffensis. (I have not these books at hand at present.) (j k) Edw. Browne's *Fascic. rerum expetend.*, 1689, printed the Exorcismum Ordalii.

(k) Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, folio i., 329, De sede Roffensi gave "Ernulfi Collect. Roff." This was repeated by Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 163, 1443.

(l) Gale, *Hist. Britann. Script.*, xv. (1691), 792=Roff., f. 102.

(m) Wanley. See above, sec. 1.

(n) William and Elizabeth Elstob printed, about 1710, *Proposals for Editing Anglo-Saxon Law* and collated Wheloc (see g) with T. R., but William died 1715 (? cf. Petheram, *Historical Sketch of Anglo-Saxon Lit.*, 1840, p. 89), and this project came to nothing.

(o) Sir John Fortescue Aland, *Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy* (1714), Preface, used the Elstob papers for Anglo-Saxon Law.

(p) Harris, *History of Kent*, 1719, printed the Laws of Æthelbert and Hlothare and Byrthric's will from De Laet's transcripts and translations from Textus Roff.

(q) Thomas Hearne, *Textus Roffensis*, 1720.* He did not print immediately from the Textus, but from Harley MS. 6523. He left out purposely and expressly everything printed by Lambarde, though Lambarde had used inferior MSS.

* See above, sec. 12.

(r) David Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae* (London, 1721, fol.), collated Lambarde, Spelman, and Hickes, with Julius C, 2 (sec. c), and Textus Roffensis. Several of its pieces were here printed for the first time (for instance Wihtried), or rather at the same time with Hearne's edition (see above), which was not yet known to Wilkins. Indeed Wilkins had begun his work (which directly continues the Elstob project hatched by Hickes) by 1716.

(s) John Thorpe and the other prints from the Chartulary, see above, sec. 12.

(t) Samuel Pegge, *Archæologia*, vol. i., 1770, gave a valuable description of Textus Roffensis.

(u) J. Webb projected an edition of Anglo-Saxon Law about 1810 (cf. Bosworth's *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, 1823, p. xxxv.), but in vain.

(v) Reinh. Schmid, *Über die Angelsächs. Rechtsquellen*, in the periodical *Hermes*, xxxi. (1828). This man, who unluckily never saw an Anglo-Saxon MS., has done more for the history of the earliest English law than anybody before or since.

(w) Reinh. Schmid based *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1832) only on printed books. The value of this book consists therefore in its explanations, and in the very careful collector's work.

(x) Benjamin Thorpe (so generally quoted, though the best part of the work was done by Price), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 1840, 2 vols. octavo and 1 vol. folio. Thorpe or Price collated and exhausted the legal part of Textus Roffensis altogether.

(y) Reinh. Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 2 Aufl., 1858, used Thorpe's edition, and the deep researches of the German historians and jurists of Grimm's school, to which J. M. Kemble's *Saxons in England* belongs, and so brought out what must be considered the Standard Edition up to now.

(z) Osw. Cockayne, *Leechdoms of Early England* (Rolls Series, 1866), iii., 286, printed Text. Roff., f. 95 (not 50), without perceiving that from l. 13 the charm ends, and there begins the legal formula which Thorpe had printed long before.

(aa) For a new edition of Anglo-Saxon Law,* which the Bavarian Academy of Munich entrusted me with, I collated the Textus Roffensis, fos. 1—100, all through, with the exception of the Canonical collection, f. 82, which I excerpted, but too briefly. I copied fos. 7—9, Wessex Genealogy, f. 95 charm (see above z), fos. 101—104, Royal Genealogies, f. 110 v., Bishops' Lists. All these four pieces have been lying for some years in my desk in readiness for the printer. I shall edit them from older and better MSS., using the Rochester readings for variation notes.

* The first fascicle of my *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* appeared in 1898.

29. LIST OF CONTENTS OF THE TEXTUS ROFFENSIS.—PART A.

Folio.		Hearne Edition, 1720.	B. Thorpe, Svo Ed., Vol. I.	B. Thorpe, Folio Ed.	Schmid Gesetze der Angeln- sachsen, 1858.
1	Æthelbert	1	2	1	P. 2.
3 v.	Hlothare	6	26	11	10.
5	Wihfred	9	36	16	14.
7	Had		11., 240	393	Anhang IX.
7 v.	Wessex Genealogy		Wanting	Wanting	Wanting.*
9	Alfred; 24 v. Ine	Wanting	44: Ine 102	27; Ine 45	58; Ine 20.
31 v.	Blasceras		224	95	Anhang XIII.
32	Forfang		224		" XIV.
"	Ordal	12	226	96	" XVI.
32 v.	Walreaf	13	228	96	" XV.
"	Æthelstan II.		196	83	P. 130.
37 v.	" V.	Wanting	220	93	152.
38	King's Peace		224	95	Anhang XII.
38 v.	Oath forms	13	178	76	" X.
39 v.	Oath	14	182	78 c. 12 and 13	Anhang VIII., 2, VIII., 1.
"	Wergeld	15	190	80	Anhang VII., 3.
40	Edward and Guthrum		168	71	P. 118.
41 v.	Wergeld		174	75	Anhang VII., 1.
42	Edward I.		158	68	P. 110.
43	" II.	Wanting	160	69	114.
44	Edmund I.		244	104	172.
45	Edmund II.		248	105	176.
46	Æthelred I.		280	119	198.
47	William II.	16	488	210	352.
48	Æthelred III.	17	292	124	212.
49 v.	Exorcismus-aquæ	19			Anhang XVII., 1.
53 v.	" ferri	29			Anhang XVII., 2.
53 v.	" panis	33	Wanting	Wanting	Anhang XVII., 3.
57 v.	Cnut for Ch. Church	37			Wanting.
	VOL. II.				
58	Instituta Cauti, I.	Wanting			Instituta Cnuti collated, p.
63	" " II.				250, as versio Colbertina.†
75	" III.	39	"	"	Anhang XX.
80	William III.	Wanting	490	211	P. 354.
81 v.	Exceptiones ex decre- tis pontificum, quales accusatores	Wanting	Wanting	Wanting	Wanting.‡
88	Æthelstan VI.		228	97	156.
93	Leodgethinceth	48	190	81	Anhang v.
93 v.	Wergeld	Wanting	186	79	" VII., 2.
94 v.	Wedding	49	254	108	" VI.
95	Charm	Wanting	Wanting	Wanting	Wanting.§
95	Bequeathing form		184	78	Anhang XI.
96	Charta Henrici I. coron.	51	497	215	" XXI.
98	Excommunicatio major	55			
99 v.	" minor	59	Wanting		
101	Succession of Kings— Adam to Eadward Ironsides	59-60			
102	" Northumbria	Wanting			
"	" Mercia				
103	" Kent	(Part) 60			
" v.	" Wessex	61			
105	" Popes				
106	In place of lost leaf?				
107	Succession of Emperors				
107 v.	" " Patriarchs, Jerusalem		Wanting	Wanting	Wanting.
109	" " Patriarchs, Alexandria	Wanting			
109 v.	" " Patriarchs, Antiochia				
110 v.	" " English Bishops				
116 v.	History of the Mass*				
119	Part II., Chantulary**				

* Partly edited by Thorpe and Earle, see sec. 23.

† Ed. Kolderup, cf. sec. 25.

‡ Perhaps undated, see sec. 26.

§ See sec. 28, c.

|| See sec. 27.

* Perhaps unprinted, see sec. 26a.

** See secs. 12, 12a.

COATS OF ARMS IN KENT CHURCHES.

PART II.

COLLECTED BY REV. CARUS VALE COLLIER,

LATE CHAPLAIN OF DAVINGTON PRIORY.

ST. CATHERINE, PRESTON-NEXT-FAVERSHAM.

1. Arms.—Per bend embattled argent and gules, a crescent for difference, for BOYLE. Crest—A lion's head erased per pale embattled gules and argent.
2. Arms.—BOYLE; impaling, Argent, on a bend sable three covered cups or, for NAYLER.
3. Arms.—BOYLE; impaling, Quarterly: 1 and 4, Argent, a cross between four fleurs-de-lis sable; 2, Or, a lion rampant gules, collared argent (?); 3, Azure, crusilly a lion rampant argent. Above this shield is a coronet formed of five rays and four strawberry leaves.
4. Arms.—BOYLE; impaling, Quarterly of nine: 1, Gules, a crescent or between six bezants (?), three, two, one; 2, Bendy of six gules and . . . ; 3, Gules, an eagle displayed or (?); 4, Gules, three crescents or, a chief ermine; 5, Gules, six billets or, on a chief indented argent three torteaux; 6, . . . a lion rampant argent; 7, Azure, a bend between six escallops argent; 8, . . . a cross . . . in first and fourth quarters an annulet (?); 9, as 1.

These four coats of arms occur on a very fine monument of the Boyle family. It commemorates Roger Boyle, Esq., of the family of the Boyles of Herefordshire, and his wife Joan, daughter of John Nayler of the City of Canterbury. They left three sons and two daughters. One son, Sir Richard Boyle, Kt., Lord Boyle, Baron of Yoghall, Viscount of Dongarven, Earl of Cork, and one of His Majesty's Privy Council in Ireland, was the second son of Roger and Joan Boyle of Preston. He married Katherine, only daughter of Sir Gefraie Fenton, Kt., Secretary of State in Ireland, by whom he had issue five sons and eight daughters, apparently surviving their parents. The inscription over the figure of John Boyle, son of Roger and Joan, is almost illegible. John Boyle, the eldest son, was Bishop of Cork (1620—1643). The monument also commemorates Hugh Boyle, the third son of Roger and Joan Boyle, who was slain in the wars in a "forraign kingdom"; Elizabeth

Boyle, who married Piers Power, Esq., and by him had issue; and Mary Boyle, who married Sir Richard Smyth, Kt., and by him had issue.

For further information on this family see Rev. Canon Scott Robertson's Paper on "Preston Church" in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXI., pp. 131, 132.

5. Arms.—Argent, a chevron between three griffins passant sable, for FINCH; impaling, Gules, two bars argent, for SPENCER (?); impaling, Ermine, on a bend sable three seapies or, on a canton of the last a rose gules, for WILKINS OF KENT. Crest—A talbot sejant collared and holding a branch; mantling, Gules, lined argent.

This coat of arms occurs on a hatchment commemorating Frances Wilkins, one of the daughters of Thomas Wilkins of Beckles in the parish of Tong in the county of Kent, Gent., wife first to Thomas Finch of Eastwell in Kent, Esq., and after to John Spencer of Croft (?), next Sutton-Valence in Kent, Gent., who died the 27th of April 1674, aged 63.

6. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, FINCH; 2 and 3, Argent, a saltire sable, pierced lozengy of the field, between four bears' heads of the second muzzled or, over all on fess point a crescent for difference, for BISENHAM. Crest—A griffin passant sable.
7. Arms.—As No. 6, without the crest.
8. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, FINCH; 2 and 3, BISENHAM; impaling, Quarterly: 1 and 4, Ermine, on a canton gules a buck trippant or, for MAICOT; 2 and 3, Ermine, on a chevron gules three crosses patée fitchée or, for . . .
9. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, MAICOT; 2 and 3, Ermine, on a chevron gules three crosses patée fitchée or.

The arms Nos. 6 to 9 occur on a mural monument to the memory of Thomas Finch and Bennet Maicot his wife, daughter of William Maicot, Gent. They lived together 44 years, when she died 16 February 1612; he died 18 October 1615, aged 72 years. John Finch of Grovehurst was nephew of the above Thomas Finch. (See Canon Scott Robertson's Paper on "Preston Church," *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXI., pp. 132, 133.)

10. Arms.—FINCH; impaling, A chevron between three lions rampant. Crest—A griffin passant ducally gorged.

This coat of arms occurs on a slab to the memory of John Finch of Preston, Esq., who died on St. Peter and St. Paul's day 1669.

11. Arms.—Argent, three piles, one issuant in chief, two in base sable, for HULSE.

This coat occurs on two slabs; the inscription on one appears to record the death of John Hulse, but it is almost illegible; the

other is to the memory of Edward Hulse, fourth son of Charles Hulse, late of Chartham, Gent., and Elizabeth his wife. He died 6 February 1679, in his 5th year.

12. Arms.—HULSE; impaling, Ermine, on a bend engrailed three cinquefoils, for . . .

This coat is on a slab to the memory of Elizabeth Hulse, formerly wife and relict of Charles Hulse, Gent., who died 5 November 1696, aged 61 years.

13. Arms.—Argent, on a fess azure (?), between three catherine-wheels gules, as many lambs of the field, for SCOTT.

This coat is on a mural monument to George Scott, Esq., eldest son of Hon. Michael Scott, Esq., of Belvedere in the island of Grenada, who died at Sittingbourne 8 September 1791, in his 23rd year.

14. Arms.—Per chevron or and gules, three tufts of bulrushes counterchanged, for SYKES.

This coat occurs on a mural monument to Rev. George Sykes, M.A., of Yardley Place in Hertfordshire, Rector of Rayleigh in Essex, Vicar of Preston 51 years, and one of the six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral. (See Rev. Canon Scott Robertson's account of him in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXI., pp. 149, 150.)

15. The royal arms of Queen Victoria are blazoned over the chancel arch. It calls for no special mention, except that the badge of England (a rose) appears to be without its usual associates, viz., the thistle and shamrock.

ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, SELLING.

1. Arms.—Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or, for KING EDWARD I.

2. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, Sable, a castle of three towers or, for CASTILE; 2 and 3, Argent, a lion rampant gules, for LEON.

3. Arms.—Azure, semée-de-lis or, for FRANCE (ancient).

4. Arms.—Chequy or and azure, for WARREN.

5. Arms.—Or, three chevronels gules, for CLARE.

I have no doubt that the above five coats of arms, which occur in the east window (at Selling Church), are rightly assigned. All are well-known coats, and the various opinions which have been expressed arise, I should imagine, from the little irregularities of tincturing; for instance, the field of the arms of Castile is rather

of a dark green colour than black. In the case of the arms of France, I am of opinion that the apparent black glass quarries upon which the fleurs-de-lis appear seem to be black on account of the amount of lead which surrounds each quarry and the pieces of yellow glass of the fleur-de-lis. The blue field is simply formed of quarries of that colour. Altogether the general effect is that of a shield blazoned thus: Lozengy azure and sable, on each piece of the last a fleur-de-lis or.* The shields represent the armorial bearings of King Edward I. and his two Queens, viz. (1) Eleanor daughter of Ferdinand III., King of Castile and Leon; and (2) Margaret daughter of Philip III. of France.

Possibly the arms of the Earl of Warren and Surrey, a faithful follower of King Edward I.

The shield of Clare may represent the arms of Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was one of the three chosen to guide the affairs of the Government when King Edward I. was away in France about the year 1273.

6. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, Argent, on a chevron engrailed azure, between three martlets sable, as many crescents or, for WATSON; 2 and 3, Or, two chevronels gules, for MONSON.

7. Arms.—Ermine, a mill-rind between two martlets palewise sable, on a chief azure, two marlions' wings conjoined or, for MILLES.

These two coats (Nos. 6 and 7) occur in a window to the memory of George John, fourth Baron Sondes, who died 17 December 1874, in his 81st year.

8. Arms.—Argent, two bars sable, for HILTON. Crest—The head of Moses, couped at the shoulders, and affrontée proper. Supporters—Two lions rampant sable. Motto—"Tang te puis."

This coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to the memory of Thomas Gibbs Hilton, Esq., of Selling, who died 13 April 1826, aged 75; and also to Ann his first wife, who died 28 September 1814; to Ann their daughter, who died 24 June 1781, aged 3 years; and William their seventh and youngest son, who died 23 December 1819 at Bombay in the East Indies, aged 32 years.

9. Arms.—Gules, a chevron between three cinquefoils or, a crescent for difference, for CHAMBERS; impaling, Argent, three battle-axes erect sable, two and one, for Crest—A bear sable, collared, chained, and muzzled or.

This coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to the memory of William Chambers, late of Selling, Gent., who died 14 November 1724, aged 32 years. He married the only daughter of Robert and Susannah Gibbs, by whom he had four daughters. Susannah his wife died 5 November 1758, aged 64 years. Ann, daughter of William and Susannah Chambers, died 12 January 1722, aged 8 months.

* A similar shield to this occurs in a window near the chapter-house of York Minster.

10. Arms.—Azure, a chevron between three martlets, all or, for BEARDSWORTH. Motto—"In virtute tua."

This coat of arms occurs in a window to the memory of the Rev. George Beardsworth, M.A., Curate of Selling.

11. Arms.—Quarterly: Per fess raguly ermine and azure, a bar gemelle between four lions' heads erased, all counterchanged, for NEAME. Crest—Over a fess, raguly-counter-raguly azure, a demi-heraldic antelope argent, armed and pierced through the breast with an arrow or, collared of the first. Motto—"Ne a meta oculos avertiam."

This coat of arms occurs on a brass to the memory of Frank Neame, eldest son of Frederick Neame of Luton, Selling, who died 21 October 1891 at Luton, aged 47 years; buried at Selling 24 October, leaving issue Harold Bennet, born 2 January 1879 at Macknade, Herbert River, Queensland; Gerald Tassell, born 28 April 1885 at Norwood, Surrey; and Marjorie, born 27 March 1890 at Macknade, Herbert River, Queensland.

12. Arms of QUEEN VICTORIA on a panel.

ST. JAMES, SHELDWICH.

1. Arms.—Quarterly per fess indented.

2. Arms.—Barry nebuly ermine and . . .

These two coats (Nos. 1 and 2) occur on the slab to the memory of Joh'na wife of William Marys, Armiger, who died October 1431.

3. Arms.—Gules, a crosslet ermine, for ATTLEAS.

This coat occurs several times in a window.

4. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, Argent, on a chevron engrailed azure, between three martlets, as many crescents or, for WATSON; 2 and 3, Or, two chevronels gules, for MONSON. Crest—A griffin's head erased argent, armed and ducally gorged or. Supporters—Dexter, a griffin argent, ducally gorged; sinister, a bear argent, collared or, thereon two crescents. Motto—"Esto quod esse videris."

This coat of arms occurs on a hatchment.

5. Arms.—Quarterly: Ermine, a mill-rind between two martlets in pale sable, on a chief azure two marlions' wings conjoined in lure or, for MILLS; impaling, Azure, three cross-crosslets fitchée in bend or, cotised of the same, for KNATCHBULL. Crest—A lion rampant erminois, holding a mill-rind sable. Supporters—Dexter, a griffin argent, ducally gorged; sinister, a bear proper, collared argent, thereon two crescents or. Motto—"Esto quod esse videris."

This coat of arms occurs on a hatchment.

6. Arms.—Shield, crest, supporters, and motto as No. 4.

This coat of arms occurs on two monuments, one being a slab, the other a mural monument. The former is to the memory of the Right Honourable Lewis Richard, Lord Sondes, who died 14 March 1836, aged 44 years; the latter is to the same nobleman, but here he is described as of Lees Court and Rockingham Castle, and as the eldest son of Lewis Thomas, second Baron Sondes, by Mary Elizabeth, only child of Richard Milles, Esq., of Nackington in the county of Kent.

7. Crest.—A dexter hand in the act of blessing, for SELY.

This crest occurs on the tilting helmet of John Sely, who, with Isabelle his wife, are commemorated by a brass representing this gentleman and lady. John Sely died 9 October 1426.

8. Arms.—Argent, two bars sable, for HILTON. Crest—The head of Moses, couped at the shoulders and affrontée proper.

This coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to William Hilton, late of Faversham, Gent., who died 7 February 1788, aged 68 years. Also to Giles Hilton his son by Mary his wife, who died 4 March 1765, aged 12 years. Mary Hilton, wife of William Hilton, died 8 March 1793, aged 84 years.

9. Arms.—Per chevron flory-counter-flory sable and or, in chief three bezants, in base a tower of the first, for MUNN.

This coat of arms occurs in a window and also on a mural monument, the latter to the memory of three sons and one daughter of William Munn, Esq., of Blackheath, Kent, by Catherine his wife. Matthew William Munn, Esq., born 19 November 1779, died in the West Indies, unmarried, 1797. Captain Thomas Callis Munn, R.N., born 7 April 1781, died at Blackheath 7 April 1815, unmarried. Lieut.-Colonel Henry Munn, born 29 July 1785, died in the East Indies, after 30 years' service there, 1833, aged 48 years. He married Harriet Comber, youngest daughter of W. Hood, Esq., of Blackheath, by whom he left one son, William Augustus Munn, born 28 October 18— at Trichinopoli, East Indies, died Sunday, 12 October 1873, at Churchill House, and buried at St. James's Cemetery, Dover. Mary Elizabeth Munn, born 6 February 1783, died at Greenwich 29 August 1818.

10. Arms.—Azure, a chevron between three martlets or, for BEARDSWORTH.

This coat of arms occurs in a window erected in 1849 by the parishioners to the memory of Rev. George Beardsworth, M.A., Curate of Sheldwich.

11. Arms.—The royal arms of King George III., viz., Quarterly : 1 and 4, ENGLAND ; 2, SCOTLAND ; 3, IRELAND ; on a shield of pretence, ensigned with the electoral bonnet, BRUNSWICK ; impaling LUNENBERG, and in base, HANOVER ; on an inescutcheon gules the crown of CHARLEMAGNE OR. Crest—ENGLAND. Supporters—Lion and Unicorn. Badge—Rose.

These arms were borne by King George III. from 1801 to 1816.

ST. MICHAEL, THROWLEY.

1. Arms.—Argent, three blackamoors' heads couped between two chevronels, all sable, for SONDES ; impaling, On a cross five escallops. Surmounted by an earl's coronet. Supporters—Dexter, a negro, in dexter hand an arrow palewise ; sinister, a horse.

This coat of arms occurs at the west end of an altar-tomb to the memory of George Sondes, Earl of Faversham, and Mary, Countess of Faversham. He died 30 April 1677 ; she died 15 September 1688. They had issue two daughters : Lady Mary Sondes, who married Lewis, Lord Duras and Baron Holdenby, died without issue ; and Lady Catherine Sondes, who married Lewis, Lord Rockingham, afterwards created Earl of Rockingham in the county of Northampton, Lord Viscount Sondes of Lees Court, and Baron of Throwley in 1774. Lady Catherine died 2 March 1695. Edward Sondes, Viscount Sondes of Lees Court, eldest son and heir-apparent, died 20 March 1721.

2. Arms.—SONDES, a mullet of six points for difference.

This coat occurs on a mural monument to Captain Thomas Sondes, third son of Richard Sondes by his second wife, the daughter of Sir Rowland Hayward. At the age of 17 he went for a soldier in the Low Countries for 30 years. He died 13 October 1668, in his 59th year.

3. Arms.—Quarterly of 11 : 1, SONDES ; 2, Argent, a fess dancettée gules within a bordure sable ; 3, Or, a lion rampant within a bordure gules ; 4, Azure, an eagle displayed within a bordure argent ; 5, Argent, on a chevron sable three crosslets ermine ; 6, Sable, six lioncels rampant argent ; 7, Argent, a chevron between three martlets argent ; 8, Argent, a fess dancettée gules ; 9, Chequy argent and azure ; 10, Sable, three bells argent, a canton ermine ; 11, Ermine, on a fess azure a bar wavy or ; impaling, Argent, on a pale sable an eagle displayed of the field, for TUFTON.

4. Arms.—TUFTON.

5. Arms.—TUFTON.

6. Arms.—As No. 3, without impalement, but with crest, A blackamoor's head proper.

7. Arms.—As No. 3.

8. Arms.—TUFTON.

These coats of arms (Nos. 3 to 8) occur on an altar-tomb to the memory of Cyeylle, first wife of Sir Thomas Sondes, Kt., and daughter of John Hottfield of . . . , Esq., died 18 June 1584. Also to the memory of Sir Thomas Sondes, Kt., heir of Anthony Sondes of Throwley in co. Kent, Esq., who died 7 February 1592, in his 48th year, leaving his only brother Michael Sondes for his heir.

9. Arms.—Quarterly of 13 : 1, SONDES ; 2, Argent, a fess dancettée within a bordure sable ; 3, Argent, a fess dancettée between three cross-crosslets fitchée, all gules ; 4, Or, a lion rampant within a bordure gules ; 5, Azure, an eagle displayed within a bordure argent ; 6, Argent, on a chevron sable, three crosslets ermine ; 7, Chequy or and azure, a fess argent (?) ; 8, Sable, six lioncels rampant in pile argent, three, two, one ; 9, Azure, a chevron between three martlets argent ; 10, Argent, a fess dancettée gules ; 11, Chequy argent and azure ; 12, Sable, three bells argent, a canton ermine ; 13, Ermine, on a fess azure a bar wavy or. Crests—(1) A blackamoor's head coupé proper ; (2) [Broken off].

10. Arms.—Quarterly of 12 : 1, Argent, a chevron between three griffins passant sable, for FINCH ; 2, Argent, six fusils conjoined, three and three, azure ; 3, Sable, three ducks in pale argent ; 4, Azure, between two bends three eaglets displayed argent, a mullet for difference ; 5, Gules, a fess compony argent and sable between three (?) crosses patée fitchée of the second ; 6, Gules, two bends or ; 7, Bendy of ten or and azure ; 8, Gules, a hind trippant within a bordure argent ; 9, Gules, two bars argent, and in chief three plates ; 10, Argent, a saltire sable between four estoiles (?) gules ; 11, Quarterly embattled throughout argent and sable ; 12, Per pale or and azure, a chevron between three lozenges counterchanged. Crests—(1) A griffin passant sable, ducally gorged or ; (2) [Broken off].

These coats of arms (Nos. 9 and 10) were placed formerly upon the canopy over, and now stand near, an altar-tomb to the memory of Dame Mary Sonds, only wife of Sir Michael Sonds of Throwley, co. Kent, Kt., and daughter and sole heir of George Finch of Norton in co. Kent, Esq. She had six sons and six daughters : Sir Richard Sonds, Kt., married Susann daughter of Sir Edward Montague ; the other sons were George, Thomas, Robert, William, and Hobbye Sonds. Of all these sons there remained at her death Sir Richard Sonds and William Sonds, and the said six daughters, viz., Elizabeth who married George Waller, Esq. (she is buried at

Throwley); Jane who married firstly Edward Flud, Esq., secondly Sir Thomas Maye, Kt.; Paulyne married Sir Maximillian Dalison, Kt.; the other three, viz., Anne, Martha, and Judith, were all unmarried at the time of their mother's death.

11. Arms.—Quarterly of 11: 1, SONDES; 2, . . . a bordure sable; 3, A fess dancettée . . . (?); 4, Or, a lion rampant gules, a bordure (?); 5 (illegible); 6, . . . on a fess sable (?) three crosslets; 7 (illegible); 8 (illegible); 9, Azure, a chevron between three martlets; 10 (illegible); 11 (illegible); impaling, Sable, three bells argent, a canton.
12. Arms.—SONDES; impaling, a coat now illegible.
13. Arms.—A shield, which appears to be quarterly of 11 like No. 11; impaling, Ermine, on a fess azure a bar wavy or.
14. Arms.—SONDES; impaling, Argent, a saltire sable.
15. Arms.—SONDES; impaling, Or, a chevron between three eagles displayed azure (?).
16. Arms.—SONDES; impaling, Sable, three pales or a chief of the field.
17. Arms.—As No. 3; impaling, Sable, three bells argent, a canton ermine.
18. Arms.—SONDES; impaling, Argent, . . . three pheons sable.
19. Arms.—Quarterly of 12: 1, SONDES; 2, Argent, a fess dancettée gules within a bordure sable; 3, Argent, a fess dancettée between three cross-crosslets fitchée gules; 4, Or, a lion rampant within a bordure gules; 5, Azure, an eagle displayed within a bordure argent; 6, Argent, on a chevron three crosslets ermine; 7, Chequy or and azure (a fess or?); 8, Sable, six lioncels rampant in pile, three, two, one, argent; 9, . . . a chevron between three birds; 10 (illegible); 11, Chequy argent and . . .; 12 (illegible); impaling, On a fess a bar wavy or.

These coats of arms (Nos. 11 to 19), with nine other coats now illegible, occur on an uninscribed altar-tomb.

20. Arms.—Vert, on a chevron embattled erminois, between three hedgehogs or, as many hand-grenades fired proper, on a chief of augmentation the sally-ports of the capital and fortress of Seringapatam, with the drawbridge lowered, and over the gate the Union Jack hoisted above the standard of Tippoo Sultan, all proper, for HARRIS. The shield is surrounded by the motto and chain of the order of the Star of India. On a separate shield on the sinister is the arms of Harris, impaling, Azure, three garbs or, for CUMMINS. These shields are surmounted by a baron's coronet. Crest—On a mural

coronet or, the royal tiger of Tippoo Sultan passant guardant vert, stripped (or) of the first, pierced in the breast with an arrow of the last, vulned proper, charged on the forehead with the Persian character of Hyder and crowned with an Eastern coronet of gold. Supporters—Dexter, a grenadier of the 73rd Regiment proper, holding a flagstaff bearing the Union Jack hoisted above the standard of Tippoo Sultan; and beneath, twining round the flagstaff, the French tricolor with the word "Republique;" sinister, an Indian Sepoy in his uniform, holding a flagstaff like the other, but with the East India Company's flag (instead of the Union Jack), and on the French tricolor the word "Française." Motto—"My prince and my country."

This coat of arms occurs on a hatchment in the Harris Chapel, and is the bearing of George Francis Robert Harris, third Baron, and his wife Sarah, daughter of the Venerable Archdeacon Cummins. The Barony of Harris, with the honourable augmentation, crest, and supporters, were granted to George Harris, a General who distinguished himself at the taking of the fortress of Seringapatam about the year 1756.

21. Arms.—Azure, on a fess between three boars argent, as many eagles displayed of the field, for BUNCE; impaling, Or, three bears passant sable, muzzled gules, for BARHAM (an annulet for difference?).

This coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to Stephen Bunce of Throwley, Esq., who died 10 February 1634, and was buried at St. Clement's, London. He married Anne Barbara, daughter of Arthur Barham of Maidstone, Esq., and had by her four sons and four daughters, viz., Matthew, James, Stephen, Richard, Jane, Anne, Elizabeth, and Catherine.

22. Arms.—Argent, a chevron between three farmyard cocks gules, for COBB. Crest—Out of a ducal coronet a demi-leopard rampant proper. Motto—"Virtus in arduis."

This coat of arms occurs on a group of monuments of the Cobb family commemorating—

Henry Cobb of Town Place in Throwley, who died 24 August 1808, aged 45 years. Elizabeth his wife, who died 16 December 1824, aged 57 years. They had issue seven sons and two daughters.

Charles Francis Cobb, youngest son of Henry and Elizabeth Cobb, born 14 December 1804, died 26 September 1855.

Captain Henry Cobb, born at Town Place 25 February 1788; died 14 September 1848. He commanded the Honourable East India Company's ship "Kent," which was burnt in the Bay of Biscay 1 March 1825.

ST. MARGARET, RAINHAM.

1. Arms.—On a fess, between three beavers passant, a cross-crosslet fitchée inter two trefoils slipped.

This coat of arms occurs on a brass to the memory of John Norden, Esq., who died in the year 1580. He “had iiij wyves, Joh’ne, Agnes, Ellyn, and Elizabethe.”

2. Arms.—Argent, semée billets and a cross formée fleurettée sable, for NORREYS. On an esquire’s helmet proper, with the mantling gules, lined argent, is this crest: A lion sejant or, holding in his dexter paw a cross formée fitchée sable.

This coat of arms occurs on a monument on which are two kneeling figures, and below them a baby in long clothes. It is to the memory of Thomas Norreys, Esq., “who after many paynfull and dangerous expeditions at sea achieved the charge and credit of a com’aunder, a M^r of y^e Trinitye house, and a Com’issioner of the Navye Royal,” etc. He died 19 December 1624. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Elmstone, and had issue by her four sons and three daughters, viz., Ralph, Thomas, Edward, Henry, Ann, Mary, and Elizabeth. This monument is also to the memory of John Norreys, son of Edward and Barbara Norreys, who died in 1626, aged 7 months.

3. Arms.—An eagle displayed ermine within a bordure, for TUFTON; impaling, Per bend embattled, for BOXLE. Crest—On a noble’s helmet with mantling, encircled with an earl’s coronet, a lion passant. Supporters—Dexter, an eagle ermine; sinister, a lion rampant party per pale embattled.

This monument, on which is a life-size figure of a noble, is to the memory of the Right Honourable Nicholas Tufton, Earl of Thanet, Baron Tufton of Tufton, and Baron Clifford, Westmorland, and Vipont, Lord of the Honour of Skipton in Craven, etc. He was the son of John, Earl of Thanet, by Lady Margaret, coheir of Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, by the Lady Ann Clifford, daughter and heir of George, Earl of Cumberland. He was imprisoned in the Tower for three years during the banishment of King Charles II. He married Lady Elizabeth, third daughter of the Right Honourable Richard, Earl of Burlington and Cork, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, by the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Henry, Lord Clifford, last Earl of Cumberland. He died 24 November 1679, aged 49 years.

In the Thanet Chapel, in which the last monument is erected, is another on which is a youth, life-size and seated. He is dressed as a Roman (?) soldier.

This monument is to the memory of the Honourable George Tufton, sixth son of the Right Honourable John, Earl of Thanet, by the Lady Margaret, daughter and coheir of Richard, Earl of Dorset. He was born 30 June 1650 at “Hoth-fielde” in Kent.

He served in the army of the Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, being in the Bishop of Spire's country near Neostadt. He was wounded on the 20th October 1666, and died 12 December 1670 in London at Thanet House in Aldersgate.

4. Arms.—Ermine, on a chief three lions rampant, the middle one charged on the shoulder with a mullet, for **AUCHER**; impaling, A fess dancettée between three eagles displayed, for . . .

5. Arms.—Same as No. 4.

6 and 7. Arms.—**AUCHER**.

The above four shields, which are executed in brass, occur about the brass figure of a gentleman in armour. This group of brasses is to the memory of William Aucher and Elizabeth his wife. He died 23 December 1514.

8. Arms.—Three boars' heads couped close within an orle of eight cross-crosslets, for **CRADOCK**.

This coat of arms occurs on a slab to the memory of Thomas Cradock, M.A., Rector of Frensted and Vicar of Rainham. He died 9 October 1723, in his 75th year. His wife Hendrina was buried at Rainham 21 November 1695. Vicar Cradock's eldest son Thomas Cradock, M.B., is also buried at Rainham; he was born 13 March 1698 and died 7 November 1781.

9. Badge.—A rose with three circles of petals, the two inner ones argent, the outer gules, all encircled with rays or.

A number of these badges occur on the roof of the nave of the church. It is difficult to say whose badge this is. The white rose en soleil was a badge of King Edward IV. "The white rose was derived from the Castle of Clifford. It is generally supposed to have been first used as a badge by Edmond of Langley, fifth son of King Edward III., and from whom the Royal House of York was descended by a female line. For the derivation of the other part of the device, the Sun, it is recorded that on the morning previous to the battle of Mortimer's Cross (1461) there appeared to be in the heavens three suns, which, as the day advanced, became joined in one; and this omen, which preceded a signal victory over the Lancastrian party, induced King Edward to assume as a badge this figure, which would perpetuate the memory of both events." (See Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, pp. 52, 53.)

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, LINSTEAD.

HUGESSEN CHAPEL.

At the east end of the north aisle of Linstead Church is a chapel containing the memorials of the Hugessen family and its connections. On entering this chapel one's attention is arrested immediately by the fine monument against the east wall; under a

canopy are two recumbent figures of a gentleman and lady. The male figure is habited in a black gown with lace collar and cuffs; the female figure wears a black dress with ruffle collar and flat head-dress, a gold chain, bracelets, and thumb-ring; in her left hand she holds a watch, in her right hand an open book. Kneeling on a ledge above are six sons and one daughter. All the sons are armed with swords and wear short black gowns; the daughter and two of the sons hold books in their hands.

1. Arms.—Argent, on a mount vert, an oak tree proper, fructed or, two boars erect sable, armed of the fourth, feeding on the acorns. Crest—On an esquire's helmet, with mantling sable, lined or, an oak tree fructed between two wings erect sable, for HUGESSEN.
2. Arms.—Azure, five chevronels or, for EVERINGE (?); impaling, HUGESSEN.

The above monument, on which occur the two preceding coats of arms, is to the memory of James Hugessen, Esq., Merchant Adventurer, who died 2 October 1646. And also to the memory of Jane his wife, by whom he had issue six sons and one daughter: William, John, James, Josias, Peeter, Walter, and Mary. William married twice (1) Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Hipislye, Kt.; (2) Margery daughter of Sir William Brockman, Kt. Mary the daughter of the above James and Jane Hugessen married Robert Everinge, Esq.

3. Arms.—The achievement of arms of HUGESSEN, with a mullet for difference.
4. Arms.—HUGESSEN; impaling, Argent, three boars' heads erased close sable, langued gules, on fess point a mullet of five points, of the third, for FORTRIE.

The last two coats of arms occur on a mural monument, on which are two kneeling figures and a baby clothed in ermine. The monument is to the memory of John Hugessen, merchant, the second son of James Hugessen, Esq., who died 12 January 1634, being about 22 years of age, leaving his wife Lea, daughter of Mr. Peter Fortrie, with child of a son who was called John.

5. Arms.—HUGESSEN achievement.

This coat occurs on a monument to the memory of Josias Hugessen, Gent., fourth son of James Hugessen and Jane his wife. He married Mary daughter of Mr. Ambrose Rose of the parish of Cheslet, and died 20 November 1639, aged 22 years.

6. Arms.—HUGESSEN achievement.

This occurs on a slab which covers the vault in which were deposited the remains of Sir William Hugessen, Kt., in 1675, John Hugessen, Esq., his son, in 1670, and Christian his wife in 1712; William Hugessen, Esq., the son of John, in 1719, and

Elizabeth his wife in 1725, and their children, Leah, Elizabeth, Ann, and Edward. William Hugessen, Esq., of Provender, caused this slab to be placed here.

7. Arms.—HUGESSEN achievement.

This coat of arms occurs on a brass plate attached to a slab which covers the body of James Hugessen, late of Dover, merchant, who died 24 March 1637, aged "80 years and upwards."

8. Arms.—HUGESSEN; impaling, Or, a cross formée fitchée sable, on a chief (azure, three bucks' heads caboshed of the first?).

9. Arms.—Quarterly of 16: 1 and 16, Gules, a crescent, on a chief a tau cross between two mullets of five points, for DRURY; 2, Six cross-crosslets fitchée in pile, three, two, and one; 3, Six lioncels rampant in pile, three, two, and one; 4, Vaire, on a fess three crescents; 5, Azure, a fess between three martlets or; 6, Gules, guttée d'eau, on a chevron three . . . ; 7, Gyronny of eight; 8, A bend cotised between six cross-crosslets fitchée; 9, Sable, a buck's head caboshed, issuant from between the horns, a cross patée fitchée; 10, Paly of six azure and argent, on a chief two lions counter-passant; 11 and 12, A chief, over all a barnacle; 13, (?) on a canton a crescent; 14, A fess dancettée, in chief three . . . ; 15, A chevron between three squirrels. Crest—On an esquire's helmet with mantling a greyhound courant, for DRURY.

I am very doubtful about the accuracy of the two preceding coats (Nos. 8 and 9); their smallness and lofty position makes it difficult to read them. They occur on a mural monument to the memory of Dame Catharine, late wife of Sir Drue Drurye, Kt., Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber of Queen Elizabeth. Dame Catharine was daughter and sole heir of William Finche of the parish of Lynstead, and died 15 September 1601, in her 45th year.

10. Arms.—HUGESSEN; impaling, Between two bendlets three mullets of five points, for HIPPISELY.

This coat of arms is cut in brass and affixed to a slab.

11. Arms.—Quarterly: 1, Azure, three cross-crosslets fitchée in bend or, cotised of the same, a chief argent with the mark of a baronet; 2 and 3, HUGESSEN; 4, Azure, three cross-crosslets fitchée in bend or, cotised of the same, for KNATCHBULL; impaling, on the dexter side, Argent, a chevron between three hawks' heads erased azure, for HONYWOOD; on the sinister, Vert, a bend fusilly or, a canton gules, and in base a cinquefoil argent. Crest—On a cap azure, turned up ermine, a leopard passant argent, charged with roundels.

This fine coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to the Right Honourable Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart., who died 24 May 1849, aged 67 years. He was a Magistrate and a Member of

Parliament. He married, for his first wife, Annabella Christiana, daughter of Sir John Honeywood, Bart., of Evington, and had five sons and one daughter.* He married, for his second wife, Fanny Catherine, daughter of Edward Knight, Esq., of Godmersham Park, and had five sons and four daughters. The children of the second marriage took the name of Hugessen (by their father's desire) in addition to that of Knatchbull. Sir Edward's mother was Mary, daughter and coheiress of William Weston Hugessen, Esq., of Provender.† Dorothy or Dorothea Hugessen, the elder sister of Mary, married the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. Sir Edward's second wife, Dame Fanny Catherine, is buried in the same vault with him; she died 24 December 1882, aged 89 years. Three sons, Edward, Reginald, and Herbert, survived their mother (Dame Fanny Catherine), and set up a window in Linstead Church to her memory.

12. Arms.—Sable, a beehive or. Crest—Out of a ducal coronet, encircling a noble's helmet guardant and mantled sable, lined or, a beehive of the last, for . . .

13 and 14. Arms.—As No. 12; impaling, HUGESSEN.

These three last coats of arms occur on a mural monument to the memory of Rodolphus Weckerlen of Champion Court in the county of Kent. He was son and heir of Rodolphus Weckerlen, Esq. He appears to have married Anna, daughter of William Hugessen, Esq., and to have died 22 December 1667, aged 40 years (?). On the same monument is the name of Gideon de Laune, Esq., who died 16 September 1709, aged 73.

I am doubtful about the accuracy of the inscription on the last-named monument. I found it difficult to make out the inscription, owing to the lofty position of the monument.

15. Arms.—HUGESSEN; impaling, on the dexter side, Sable, a beehive or, for . . .; and on the sinister, Per fess argent and azure, in chief a leopard passant guardant sable bezantée, in base nine fusils in fess or, for . . .

This coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to the memory of Anne, daughter of Sir William Hugessen of Provender, Kt. She married firstly Randolphus Weckerlen, and secondly Gideon Delaune. She died 13 November 1719, aged 84 years. The monument was set up by her niece and executrix Anne, wife of Alderman Oughton of Canterbury.

16. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, HUGESSEN; 2 and 3, Azure, a fess dancettée between three cherubs or, for ADY (?); impaling, Per saltire argent and sable, for GOTT.

The coat of arms occurs on a monument to the memory of Martha, wife of William Hugessen, Esq., of Provender, who died

* Annabella Christiana, wife of Sir Edward, died suddenly at Provender, in her 29th year, on Monday, 4 April 1814, and left issue Mary Dorothea, Norton Joseph, Edward, Charles Henry, Wyndham, and John.

† For Hugessen Pedigree see Elvin's *Records of Walmer*, p. 70.

15 March 1733, aged 55 years. She was the eldest daughter of Peter Gott, Esq., of Stanmer in the county of Sussex. William Hugessen's second wife was Dorothy, youngest daughter of Francis Tyssen, Esq., of Hackney in the county of Middlesex. She died 23 May 1749, aged 48. William Hugessen died 18 January 1753, in his 72nd year.

17. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, HUGESSEN; 2 and 3, Azure, a fess dancettée between three cherubs or, impaling, Argent, a chevron between three eagles' heads erased sable (?), for HONYWOOD. Crest—HUGESSEN.

This coat of arms occurs on a memorial to William Western Hugessen, Esq., who married Thomasine, second daughter of Sir John Honywood, Bart., by whom he had three daughters, Dorothea, Mary, and Sarah. He died 19 June 1764, aged 29; his wife died 17 January 1774, aged 39 years.

A fine series of hatchments are hung on the walls of the Hugessen Chapel, of which the following is the description:—

18. Hatchment.—On a background divided per pale white and black are the arms of KNATCHBULL; impaling, HONYWOOD. There is no crest, and for motto "Resurgam."
19. Hatchment.—On a background divided per pale black and white are these arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, HUGESSEN; 2 and 3, Azure, a fess dancettée between three cherubs or, impaling, HONYWOOD. Crest—HUGESSEN.
20. Hatchment.—On a black background are these arms: Party per saltire argent and sable, for . . .; impaling, Or, on a chevron azure, between three French marigolds slipped proper, two lions respectant of the field, for TYSSSEN. On an inescutcheon of pretence, HUGESSEN; impaling, Azure, a fess dancettée between three cherubs or. Crest—HUGESSEN.
21. Hatchment.—On a background divided per pale white and black, HUGESSEN; impaling, Party per saltire argent and sable. Crest—HUGESSEN. Motto—"In cælo quies."
22. Hatchment.—On a background divided per pale white and black.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, HUGESSEN; 2 and 3, TYSSSEN. Crest—HUGESSEN.
23. Hatchment.—On a background all black, HUGESSEN; impaling, Azure, a fess dancettée between three cherubs or. Crest—HUGESSEN. Motto—"Moriendo vivo."
24. Hatchment.—On a background all black the HUGESSEN achievement of arms.
25. Hatchment.—On a background all black, HUGESSEN; impaling, HONYWOOD (?).

In the Hugessen Chapel are a series of memorial slabs and brasses which, though not enriched by any insignia, yet comme-

morate members of the family to whom the foregoing arms belong. I noticed the following:—

A slab to Alethea Hugessen, second daughter of John Hugessen and Christian his wife, “who sweetly rendred up her soule to God that gave it on the 15 of April 1658, aged 2 yeares 7 weakes.” Also to Edward Hugessen, third son of John Hugessen and Christian his wife, who died 28 January 1663, aged 11 months 14 days.

A slab to Mary Everinge, late wife of Robert Everinge, Esq., only daughter of James Hevkinson, Esq., who left issue James and Jane, and died 16 April 1633.

A slab to Walter Hugessen, sixth son of James Hugessen, Esq., and Jane his wife, who died in the year 1625, aged $4\frac{1}{2}$ years.

A slab to Elizabeth, late wife of William Hugessen and daughter of Sir John Hippissle, Kt. She left issue two sons, John and James, and three daughters, Jane, Anne, and Elizabeth, and died 11 December 1642.

Leaving the Hugessen Chapel we find in the body of the church the following:—

26. Arms.—Quarterly: 1 and 4, Barry nebulée of six azure and argent, on a chevron sable (?) three martlets or, for **FIRMAN**; 2 and 3, Ermine, on a chevron sable, cotised between three estoiles gules, as many leopards’ faces or; impaling, Quarterly: 1 and 4, Gules, a chevron between three crescents ermine; 2 and 3, Azure, on a fess argent, between three bezants, a lion passant sable. Crest—A horse’s head erased argent, maned or, bridled gules.

The coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to Samuel Creed Firman, Esq., who died 24 April 1858, and was buried in the family vault in Teynham Church.

27. Arms.—Argent, on a pale sable, a barbel hauriant or; impaling, Argent, a chevron sable, between three lions rampant gules; impaling, Sable, a fess between three cinquefoils argent, for **EVE**.

This coat of arms, with its double impalement, occurs on the mural monument of Thomas Barling, Gent., of the family of Barlings (otherwise Barmelings of Egerton in the Hundred of Calehill). He married firstly Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Eve, Esq., of Linstead, and by her he left issue two sons, Philip and Clare. He married secondly Elizabeth, daughter of John Smith, Gent., of Linstead, by whom he left issue a son John and a daughter Dorothy. He died 3 January 1770, aged 79 years.

28. Arms.—Sable, a barbel hauriant or; impaling, Argent, a chevron sable, between three lions rampant gules. Crest—An arm embowed, in armour sable, garnished or, the hand holding in bend sinister an arrow of the last.

This coat of arms, apparently a variation of No. 27, occurs on a mural monument to John Smith Barling, Esq., Impropiator of the parish of Linstead, who died 16 February 1793, aged 63 years.

29. Arms.—Argent, on a pale sable, a barbel hauriant or; impaling, Argent, a chevron sable, between three lions rampant gules. Crest—An arm embowed in armour sable, garnished or.

This coat of arms occurs on a mural monument to John Barling, Esq., of Nounds in the parish of Linstead. He died 27 November 1853, aged 76 years. Anne his wife died 25 October 1853, aged 61 years.

30. Hatchment.—On a background divided per pale black and white, Sable, a fess between three cinquefoils argent, a label of three points for difference, for E^vE; impaling, Azure, a fess dancettée between three cherubs or. Crest—On an esquire's helmet, mantled gules, lined argent, a greyhound argent. Motto—"Virtus in actione consistit."

There is an inscription upon the frame of this hatchment which appears to be "Henry Eve, M.D., Ob. July 1686. Interred the 31st, Æt. 31. Dorothy Eve [wife of Henry Eve, M.D.], Ob. Nov. 1691. Interred Dec. 3."

31. Hatchment.—Sable, a fess between three cinquefoils argent, a crescent for difference, for E^vE; in pretence, the same coat (without the mark of cadency), and impaling the same. Crest and motto as No. 30.

Inscribed on the frame of this hatchment are the words "M^{rs} Dorothy Eve, the wife of Charles Eve of Canterbury, Gent., died June y^c 16th, 1755. Interred here the 26th Instant, aged 31 years."

32. Arms.—E^vE, in pretence E^vE, and impaling E^vE. Crest and motto of E^vE.

This coat of arms is cut in the slab to the memory of Dorothy, wife of Charles Eve of the City of Canterbury, Gent., second son of James Eve, M.A., Vicar of Teynham and Rector of Midley in the county of Kent. She was the daughter and sole heir of Henry Eve of Linstead, Gent., and "great-great-granddaughter" of Henry Eve, D.D., formerly Vicar of Linstead and Rector of Midley. She died of apoplexy at Canterbury 16 June 1755, in her 32nd year.

33. Arms.—Ermine, a lion rampant guardant crowned, for WORLEY. Crest—Out of a mural coronet, on an esquire's helmet with mantling, a dexter arm embowed in armour, the hand grasping a scimitar.

This coat of arms is cut in brass and affixed to a slab with other brasses, bearing figures of a man and wife. This memorial is to John Worley of Skuddington in the parish of "Thong," Gent., and Alice his wife. He died 17 September 1621.

34. Arms.—A fox passant in fess between three garbs; impaling, On a chevron, between three griffins' heads erased, a roundel inter two anchors. Crest—On an esquire's helmet (with mantling) a lamb's head couped, holding in the mouth three ears of corn.

This coat of arms occurs on a slab to the memory of the Rev. John Irons, B.D., late Vicar of Linstead, who died 4 November 1766, in his 80th year. His wife Elizabeth is also buried here; she died 20 October 1770, in her 64th year.

35. Arms.—Ermine, on a bend three lions passant guardant; impaling, Barry of eight, on a canton a lion (?) passant, for GREENSTREET. Crest—On an esquire's helmet with mantling a lion sejant guardant.

This coat of arms occurs on a slab upon which is cut the following inscription: "Here lies buried y^e body of Duke Boorne, only sunn of William Boorne of Lincksted, Gent., who married Rebecaka, second daughter of M^r John Greenstreet of the same parrish; left ish wone daughter Ann; he departed this life August y^e 17 An^o Dⁿⁱ 1666, Etatis suee 25 ann. 4 moneths."

ROPER CHAPEL.

At the east end of the south aisle is a chapel in which lie the members of the Roper family.*

36. Arms.—Quarterly of 6: 1, Per fess azure and or, a pale counterchanged, three bucks' heads erased of the second, for ROPER; 2, Sable, a fess between three heraldic tigers (?) passant regardant argent; 3, Ermine, a fess vairé gules and or; 4, Sable, a cross voided or; 5, Sable, on a fess engrailed argent, between three hinds at gaze or (?), as many torteaux, each charged with a pheon argent; 6, Argent, three bars gemells sable, on a chief a bar dancettée or. Crest—On an esquire's helmet, mantled gules, lined argent, a lion rampant sable. Supporters—Dexter, a buck or; sinister, an heraldic tiger regardant argent. Motto—"Spes mea in Deo."

37. Arms.—ROPER.

38. Arms.—Barry wavy of eight, a lion rampant or.

39. Arms.—ROPER; impaling, No. 33.

* "Roper of Linstead, Baron Teynham. William Roper or Rerper, who lived in the reign of Henry III., is the first ancestor; his descendants were of St. Dunstan's near Canterbury in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. Edmund Roper was one of the Justices of the Peace for this county (Kent) in the time Henry IV. and V. The elder line of this family were seated at West Hall in Eltham, and also at St. Dunstan's, and became extinct in 1725. The younger and present branch at Linstead came from the heiress of Fineux in the reign of Henry VIII. King James I. conferred the peerage on Sir John Roper in 1616." (Shirley's *Noble and Gentle Men of England*, p. 106.)

40. Arms.—As No. 36 ; impaling, No. 38.

41. Arms.—On a lozenge, ROPER ; impaling, No. 38.

These arms accompany a monument to the memory of Sir Christopher Roper, son of Sir John Roper, Baron Teynham, who died in the 60th year of his age on the 16th April 1622. The monument was erected by Catherine his wife.

42. Arms.—Quarterly: 1, ROPER ; 2, Sable, a fess between three heraldic tigers (?) passant regardant argent ; 3, Ermine, a fess vairé gules and or ; 4, Sable, a cross voided or. Crest—On an esquire's helmet, mantled gules, lined argent, a lion rampant sable, holding between his paws a crown or, for ROPER. Supporters—Dexter, a buck or ; sinister, an heraldic tiger regardant argent, also for ROPER.

This coat of arms occurs on the monument to Sir John Roper, Bart., Lord Teynham of Teynham, who died 30 August 1618, aged 84 years. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Parker, Kt., by whom he had three children: (1) Sir Christopher Roper, Bart. ; (2) Elizabeth, who became the wife of George Vaux and mother of Edward, Lord Vaux of Harroden ; and (3) Jane, who became wife of Sir Robert Lovell, Bart.

43. Arms.—As No. 42, without supporters.

44. Arms.—As No. 42 ; impaling, On a fess, between three hinds at gaze, as many torteaux, each charged with a pheon.

45. Arms.—On a fess, between three hinds at gaze, as many torteaux, each charged with a pheon.

46. Arms.—ROPER.

These coats of arms, which are cut in brass, occur on the memorial to Elizabeth Roper, wife of John Roper, Esq. She was daughter and sole heir of Richard Parker, Esq., and had issue by her husband John Roper, one son and two daughters. I have not come across the date of this lady's death.

47. Arms.—ROPER, surmounted by a baron's coronet. ROPER crest and supporters.

This achievement of arms occurs on a tablet erected by Captain C. H. Tyler to the memory of his uncle the Right Honourable John, Lord Teynham, who died 6 September 1824, aged 58 years.

48. Arms.—Sable (?), on a fess or, between three leopards passant argent, a cross patée inter two crescents gules.

This coat of arms occurs on a tablet erected by Captain C. H. Tyler to the memory of his mother the Honourable Betty Maria Tyler, who died 2 March 1788, aged 26 years.

49. Hatchment.—On a background all black, ROPER; impaling, Sable (?), a chevron engrailed between three heraldic tigers (?) passant guardant or. Surmounted by a baron's coronet. Supporters—Dexter, a buck or; sinister, an heraldic tiger regardant argent. Motto—"Spes mea in Deo."
50. Hatchment.—On a background party per pale black and white, ROPER; impaling, Gules, on a chevron or, between three plates, as many pellets. Surmounted by a baron's coronet. Crest, supporters, and motto of ROPER.
51. Hatchment.—On a background all black, a lozenge charged with ROPER; impaling, Gules, on a chevron or, between three plates, as many pellets. Surmounted by a baron's coronet. Supporters and motto of ROPER.
52. Hatchment.—On a background all black, ROPER achievement of arms, with the mantling gules, lined ermine.
53. Hatchment.—As No. 52, with the sinister supporter its proper colour.
54. Hatchment.—On a background party per pale white and black, Azure (?), on a fess or, between three leopards argent, a cross patée inter two crescents gules; impaling, ROPER. (No crest, etc.) Motto—"Resurgam."
55. Hatchment.—On a background party per pale white and black, Argent, three lozenge-shaped buckles gules, in chief a mullet sable for difference; impaling, ROPER. (No crest, etc.)
56. Hatchment.—As No. 52 in every respect.
57. Hatchment.—On a background party per pale white and black, ROPER; impaling, Per saltire gules, azure and argent. Surmounted by a baron's coronet. Supporters and motto of ROPER.

The remaining monuments in the Roper Chapel having no insignia depicted upon them are to the memory of—

Charles Henry Tyler of Linstead Lodge, Colonel East Kent Militia, Deputy-Lieutenant for the county of Kent, died 28 September 1872, aged 84 years. Delilah his wife died 5 December 1875, aged 70 years.

Katie, wife of Lieut.-Colonel Charles J. Tyler, retired 30th Regiment, of Linstead Lodge, died 30 April 1880, aged 38.

ECCLESIOLOGICAL NOTES RESPECTING THE DEANERY OF SHOREHAM, KENT.

BY LELAND L. DUNCAN, F.S.A.

IN the *Proceedings of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iii., pp. 241—298, will be found a Paper entitled “The Parish Churches of West Kent, their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights,” and under that heading is collected together the evidence from wills and other documents respecting those subjects. Excepted from treatment were the parishes formerly in the Deanery of Shoreham, which was a Peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and in order to complete the information to be derived from early wills, etc., on the interior arrangements of our West Kent churches prior to the changes in the sixteenth century, I propose to here set out all the materials at our disposal respecting the churches in that deanery.

It should, however, be borne in mind that nearly all the early wills of persons formerly resident in the deanery have been lost, and that those wills which are now extant are the few to be found in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury* and in the Archiepiscopal Registers at Lambeth. The information is, as will be seen, extremely scanty for most of the parishes, and in some cases none at all is available: a matter for much regret, since the dedication of at least two churches—Keston and Sundridge—is doubtful, whilst that of Downe cannot be said to be certain.

* References to these in the following notes are as follows:—(21, Milles), (24, Fetiplace), etc. References to the Lambeth Registers are shewn as—(Reg. Abp. Chicheley), (Reg. Abp. Stafford), etc.; and to the books of the Rochester Consistory Wills, now at Somerset House, as—(Roch., vii., 202), (Roch., vii., 276), etc.

The thirty-four parishes comprised within the deanery were as follows:—

Bexley.	Gillingham.	Malling, East.
Brasted.	Grain, Isle of.	Meopham.
Chevening.	Halstead.	Northfleet.
Chiddingstone.	Hayes.	Orpington.
Eard <i>alias</i> Cray-	Hever.	Otford.
ford.	Hunton <i>alias</i>	Peckham, East.
Cray, Saint Mary.	Huntingdon.	Penshurst.
Darenth.	Ifield.	Sevenoaks.
Downe.	Ightham.	Shoreham.
Eynesford.	Keston.	Stanstead.
Farley, East.	Knockholt.	Sundridge.
Farningham.	Lidsing.	Wrotham.

In the following pages then will be found the whole of the information to be derived from wills respecting the above parish churches in the mediæval period, arranged, as in the Paper in the *St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society's Proceedings* referred to above, under the headings—"Dedication," "Lights, etc." Under the latter are included bequests to lights before images in the churches and references to altars dedicated in honour of particular Saints.

It will not be out of place here to state briefly some of the results arrived at by means of the West Kent church notes in the present Paper, and in that to which allusion has already been made. In every church prior to 1536 there was over the entrance to the chancel a large crucifix called the "High Rood," with the figures of St. Mary and St. John on either side. Within the chancel there was a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the Saint in whose honour the church was dedicated, and who was called the Head Hallow by our forefathers. Besides these there were in every church images of other Saints, which varied according to the locality, occupations of the inhabitants, etc. In the churches of West Kent, after the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Katherine seems to have been most honoured; then (in order) St. Christopher, St. Nicholas, The Holy Trinity, St. James, St. John Baptist, etc.

In addition to the foregoing particulars, mediæval wills yield valuable evidence as to the dedication not only of the churches themselves, but also of the chapels within them (we learn for instance that of the aisles at Northfleet one

was dedicated in honour of Our Lady, the other of St. Andrew; of altars other than the high altar, and of many of the mediæval arrangements for Divine Service, all of which are of very great interest. A lack of knowledge respecting these last has too often led in recent times to the destruction of many features in our parish churches, each precious for the history it contained.

Few of the Saints whose images are referred to in the following extracts call for any special remarks, since the names are familiar ones for the most part. St. Blaise, patron of woolcombers, was fairly popular in West Kent, and images of him occur at East Peckham and Crayford in this deanery. St. Loy or Eligius, the patron of blacksmiths, was to be found at Gillingham, where also existed an image of St. Joseph of Arimathea (not St. Joseph, spouse of the Blessed Virgin, who does not appear to have been held in any honour in England in the middle ages). The images of Our Lady varied occasionally. The simple figure existed, as before remarked, in every church, but that known as Our Lady of Pity, a representation of the Mother of our Lord weeping over the dead body of her Divine Son, was extremely popular. Instances are here recorded at Hunton, Otford, Penshurst, Sevenoaks, and East Peckham. At this last there was also an image of Our Lady of Grace, the exact form of which is still a matter of doubt.

The Easter Sepulchre, which played such an important part in the proceedings of Holy Week and Easter Week, is frequently alluded to in mediæval wills. Richard Bery of St. Mary Cray in 1508 wished to be buried "before the sepulchre," and also desired that his tomb might be so raised that it could be used to lay ornaments on for the altar. The desire for burial in this sacred spot was very general, some persons directing that their tomb should be so constructed that it might be used for the sepulchre itself (see under "Sundridge").

If a corresponding series of notes could be extracted from the early wills in the Probate Registry at Canterbury for the eastern half of the county, an interesting comparison might be made, and it is much to be desired that some member of the Kent Archaeological Society would undertake this work.

BEXLEY.

Dedication.

OUR LADY.

Ad summum altare beate Marie de Bixle xx^d. Rob^t Wodeford, 1488. (21, Milles.)*

To be buried in the church of our lady at Bexley. Thomas Lamendby al's Sparrowe, 1513. (24, Fetiplace.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

To be buried a fore the Image of oure lady in the quere of the church of Bexley. 1494. Syr Tho^s Hardyng, vicary. (14, Vox.)

ST. NICHOLAS.

To maynteyne the light befor Saint Nicolas x^s to kepe a light for euer. Thomas Lamendby al's Sparrowe, 1513.

To be buried in Saint Nicholas Chapell against Sainte Nicolas aulter w^t in the parish church of Bexley. John Shelley, 1531. (5, Hogen.)

BRASTED.

Dedication.

ST. MARTIN.

Sep.† in ecclesia S^{ci} Martini de Brasted. John Rouland, tanner, 1464. (5, Godyn.)

Lego fabrice ecclesie Sancti Martini de Brasted in Kanc' xx^s. Robert Pemberton, clerk, 1502. (38, Holgrave.)

Lights, etc.

SEPULCHRE.

Sep. infra cancellum ecclesie mee loco scilicet vbi sepulcrum dominicum tempore pascali stare consuetum est. John Chaundeler, Rector of Bradested, 1431. (Reg. Abp. Chichele, part i., 425^a.)

CHEVENING.

Dedication.

ST. BOTOLPH by local tradition.

[No evidence from wills.]

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

To be buried in o^r lady ile w^t in the church of Cheuenyng. 1506. (13, Adeane.)

CHIDDINGSTONE.

Dedication.

OUR LADY.

Sep. in cancello beate Marie de Chedingstone coram summo altare. John Woode, rector, 1486. (3, Milles.)

Lights, etc.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.

Sep. in corpore ecclesie beate Marie Virginis de Chedingstone in australi

* These and similar references are to the Registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, now at Somerset House.

† This abbreviation stands for "Corpus meum ad sepeliendum."

ST. KATHERINE.

parte inter altare Sancti Johannis Baptiste et hostium eiusdem ecclesie. John Asshdown yoman, 1488. (12, Milles.)

To be buried in the p'sh churche afore the aluter ther of Seynt Kateryne by Isabell late my wyfe. John Alfeigh, 1488. (18, Milles.)

EARD *alias* CRAYFORD.*Dedication.*

ST. PAULINUS.

Ad summum altare Sancti Paulini de Earde xx^d. Rob^t Wodeford, 1488. (21, Milles.)

Sep. in ecclesia parochiali sancti Paulini de Crayford. John Jebbes, 1494. (26, Vox.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

Lumini beate Marie iij^d. John Jebbes, 1494. (26, Vox.)

Corpus meum, quum ab hac luce me contigerit migrare, infra ecclesiam parochialem Sancti Paulini de Eard, in capella beate Marie ex parte boriali in medio eiusdem capelle sepeliendum, quamquidem capellam ac sepulturam meam et pro Maria uxore mea intendo, gratia divina, de novo edificare, facere et construere, et in eadem capella pro liberis meis et consanguineis diuina seruicia dei audire. Henry Harman Esq. "clericus corone domini Regis," 1502. (15, Blamyr.)

Lumen super le branchie coram ymaginem beate Marie de nouo construendam quolibet Anno ij^s iij^d.

ST. BLAISE and ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR.

To tapers of a pounde euery peace one to brenne before Saint Blase & the other before Saint Thomas the Martir in the p'isshe church of Yarde. Robert Owtred, 1527. (19, Porch.)

ST. PAULINUS.

Before the image of St. Paulinus, in Crayford Church, John Cliderow, Bishop of Bangor, who died Dec^r 1435, was by his directions to be buried ["Anglia Sacra," vol. i., p. 375].

NEWORKE CHAPEL in the p'isch of Crayford.

Lego fabrice constructure seu reparacione capelle beate Marie de Newe in p'ochia de Earde v marc'. Henry Harman, Esq., 1502. (15, Blamyr.)

To o^r lady in the same chapel vj^s viij^d. W^m Ladd, 1504. (Roch., vi., 115.)

CRAY, SAINT MARY.

Dedication.

OUR LADY.

Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie Marie de Cray. W^m Wykeherst, 1413. (Reg Abp. Arundell, part ii., folio 172A.)

Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis de Saint Mary Craye. Richard Walsh, 1465 (8, Godyn); and W^m Nunny, 1491 (46, Milles).

Lights, etc.

SEPULCHRE.

To be buried in the high Chaunsell of Seynt Mary Cray before the sepulchre ther. Richard Bery, 1508. He also wished "to have a loftie stone on my grave that may s'ue to ley such ornaments on as shall serve to the aluter and thereunto have ij tapers of ij pounds a pece till myn yeres mynde be fully complete." (8, Bennett.)

DARENTH.

There is no information to be derived from mediæval wills respecting this church.

According to local tradition, the Dedication is in honour of St. Margaret.

DOWNE.

The only reference to this church I have found in mediæval wills is in that of Thomas Fryth of Chelsfield, dated 27 January, 1492 (Rochester Wills, book vi., folio 136). This begins as follows:—"Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis de Downe. Lego unum cereum coram Imagine Sancte Marie Magdalene vjs viij^d imperpetuum."

From this it is possible that the church is dedicated in honour of St. Mary Magdalene, but it is now, locally, assigned to St. Mary the Virgin.

EYNESFORD.

Dedication.

ST. MARTIN.

Lego summo altari ecclesie Sancti Martini de Eynsford xl^s. W^m Clerk, 1508. (3, Bennett.)

Lights, etc.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.

Sep. in capella Sancti Johannis Baptiste in ecclesia p'ochiali Sancti Martini. John Sibbill, Esq., 1502. (8, Blamyr.)

ST. KATHERINE.

To be buried in the church of Aynsford in the chapell of Saint Kateryn w^t in the same church nygh vnto the place where my mother lyeth buried. Nicholas Gybsonne al's Taillour, 1528. (34, Porch.)

Lumini lampadis ardentis in cancello vj^s viij^d. John Donett, 1465. (9, Godyn.)

EAST FARLEIGH.

Dedication.

This is uncertain—local tradition is said to favour ST. MARY.

[No evidence from wills.]

Lights, etc.

ST. ANDREW.

To the church of East farlegh sixe ewes to finding and maynteyning of the light of Sainte Andrewe my patrone w^t in the said church. Nicholas Astyn, 1532. (19, Thower.)

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

To fynding the light of Sainte Thomas of Caunterbury the glorious martir w^t in the church of East Farleigh. Nicholas Astyn, 1532.

To euery light in the said church having a stocke xij^d. Nicholas Astyn, 1532. (19, Thower.)

FARNINGHAM.

Dedication.

ST. PETER and ST. PAUL.

(See below.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY, ST. PETER, and ST. PAUL.

“I will myn executors att my cost and charge doo newe paynte and burnysse with golde in such plac^s as can be thought most conveyent the ymage of our lady standyng at the high awter ther—and the ymages of Peter and Poule stonding aboue the same awter after and in lyke maner & forme as of late the ymages of our lady and Seynt Peter and Seynt Powle in the p^risshe church of Swanscombe be paynted and gilted.” M^r Gilbert Carleton, vicar of Farningham 1500, dated “the Sonday on the next morowe after the fest of Lamas callid the advinle of Seynt Petir the apostill.” (17, Moone.)

GILLINGHAM.

Dedication.

OUR LADY.

To be buried in the church of o^r lady in Gillingham beside Robert Piry my firste husband. Johan Wattes of Rochester, 1524. (Roch., vii., 319.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

To our lady light in the chauncell xx^d. Edmund Bamme, 1505. (32, Holgrave.) To be buried in the church of Gyllingham before the ymage of our blessid lady bysyde my seate in the said church. To our Lady light in the high chauncell

ST. NICHOLAS.
ST. MICHAEL.

vjs viij^d. Robert Pirry, 1513. (32. Fetiplace.)

Mentioned by Edmund Bamme, 1505.

To the light afore Seynt Mighell in the chapell of Seynt Nicholas afore saide x^s. Edmund Bamme, 1505. [He desired to be buried "in the South Chauncell in the Church of Gillingham in the south parte of the awter where wyne and water ys wount to stonde."]

ST. KATHERINE.
HOLY TRINITY, ST. MARGARET, ST. LOY, ST. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA, and ST. ANTONY.

Robert Pirry, 1513.

To the light of our blessed lady w^t in the Chaunsell ij^s, to euery of the light in the bodie of the church that is to sey to euery of the lighte of the Holy Trinitie, Our Lady, Saint Katheryne, Saint Margaret, Saint Loy, Saint Joseph off Abarimathie and Saint Antony xij^d. W^m Godfray, 1525. (19, Porch.)

ROOD.

To the Roode light x quarters of Barley. Edmund Bamme, 1505.

An honest and discrete preste to say masse at the aulter under the rode lofte newe made in the saide church. W^m Godfray, 1525.

GRAIN, ISLE OF.

Dedication.

ST. JAMES.

I Adam London of Seynt James w^t in the Isle of Greane. 1507. (24, Adeane.)

To be buried in the churchyerde of Saint Jamys of Greene. Robert Warde, 1516. (19, Holder.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY, ST. JAMES,
ST. KATHERINE, ST.
CHRISTOPHER, ST.
PETER, ST. JOHN, ST.
NICHOLAS, and ROOD.

All mentioned by Adam London who left a "moder sheppe" to each. 1507. (24, Adeane.)

The Cross, St. James and St. Anthony, are mentioned by Robert Ward, 1516.

HERSE.*

A cow that the money therof to renewe in wex as ferr as it will streche and the taper to be set aboute the herse when any corse is buried. Robert Ward, 1516.

HALSTEAD.

Dedication.

ST. MARGARET according to local tradition.

[No evidence from wills.]

* The lights at a funeral or at a commemoration of the departed. See also under "Wrotham," p. 149.

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Lights.

OUR LADY.

To be buried w^t in the church of Halsted before the Image of our blisshed lady there. W^m Petley, yeoman, 1528. (39, Porch.)

ROOD.

Sep. in ecclesia de Halsted ante crucem. W^m Bury, armiger, 1444. (Reg. Abp. Stafford, folio 124A.)

SEPULCHRE.

To the maynten'nce of the Sepulcre light in Halsted Church a Taper of wax iii^j^{lb} weight for euer to be contynued and yerely ayenst Ester to be made of the weight of iii^j^{lb} of wax w^t the weight of the olde stock of the said Taper, and after the light of the holy sepulcre be taken down yerely in the Ester weke I will the stock of the said sepulcre taper be sett before the forsaid ymage of our lady, and it there to be light and brent at conuenient tymes. W^m Petley, 1528.

HAYES.

Dedication.

ST. MARY THE VIRGIN
according to local
tradition.

[No evidence from wills.]

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

Lego picture imaginis b^{te} Marie in ecclesia de Heas vj^s viij^d. Richard Aschlegth of Chelsfelde, 1493. (Roch., v., 204.)

HEVER.

Dedication.

ST. PETER.

Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in campanili ecclesie beati Petri apostoli apud Heuere. John Cobeham, 1394. (Proved 1399. Reg. Abp. Arundell, part i., folio 165A.)

Lights, etc.

[No evidence from wills.]

HUNTON *alias* HUNTINGTON.

Dedication.

OUR LADY.

Lego sum. altari beate Marie de Huntyn-ton xij^d. Richard Cowper of Ealdyng, 1457. (Rochester, ii., 79A.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY OF PITY.

Lego ad vnam capellam faciendam ex australi parte dicte ecclesie viginti libras. I will oone prest to syng dyvnye s'vice in the seid church of Hunton and to sey masse at the aulter of Oure Lady of Pitie sett in the seid church

vnto such tyme as the seid chapell of oure lady be made and fynyshed and when the seid chapell is fynyshed then to syng att the aulter that shalbe sett oon the south syde of the seid churche praying there for the helth of my soull and the soull of the seid Florence and to have yerly for his salary vij^{li} (out of the manors of Burston, Chersounde, etc.). W^m Heede, 1 June 1513. (18, Fetiplace.)

IFIELD.

There is no information to be derived from wills as to this parish except—"Lego cooperturo capelle in villa de Shyngyldwelle xiijs iij^d. John Prophete, 1415." (33, Marche.) But whether this refers to Ifield Church or to a separate chapel then existing in the village of Shinglewell is uncertain—probably the latter. Ifield Church is, according to local tradition, dedicated in honour of St. Margaret.

IGHTHAM.

Dedication.

ST. PETER according to local tradition.

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

[No evidence from wills.]

Lego ecclesie de Ightham vjs viij^d et lumini beate Marie predictae ecclesie j vaccam. James de Pekham de Wrotham, 1400. (Reg. Abp. Arundell, part i., folio 176B.)

KESTON.

There is no information respecting this church before the middle of the sixteenth century.

There is no local tradition as to the dedication.

KNOCKHOLT.

Dedication.

ST. KATHERINE.

To the reparacoon of the chapell of Saynt Kateren callid Nocolte ijs iij^d. Richard Dise, laborer, of West Wickham, 1515. (Roch. Wills, vii., folio 33.)

Ad opus et sustentacōem ecclesie parochialis Sancte Katerine de Scoteis Okolt in Com. Kancie. W^m Brampton, 1406. (12, Marche.)

Lights, etc.

[No evidence available.]

LIDSING.

Dedication.

ST. MARY MAGDALENE. To Mary Magdalene chappell of Leggyn ten owys there to remayne for

euier to the most p'ffitt of the chapell.
John Kemsley of Gelingham, 1530.
(20, Jankyn.)

Lights, etc.

ST. MARY MAGDALENE.

To gilding and paintyng of Mary
Magdalene in Liggyn chappell vj^s viij^d.
John Kemsley, 1530.

EAST MALLING.

Dedication.

According to local tra-
dition this is in honour
of ST. JAMES, but the
following extract in-
dicates OUR LADY.
Local tradition is,
however, fairly trust-
worthy in this matter,
and it is possible that
Thomas Cowhert was
of West Malling.

My tenement called Desbies sett in
Well Strete in the p'och of Est Mallyng
in Kent to be solde and the money to
the bying of certeyne banner clothes to
be hadde and bought to the vse and behof
of the p'issch church of Our Lady of
Est Mallyng xxxiiij^s iiiij^d. Tho^s Cowhert,
1490. (26, Milles.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

To be buried in the chaunsell of Est
Mawlinge church afore the pycture and
ymmage of our blessyd lady there. Ed-
munde Flatchere, clerk and vicar, 1540.
(28, Alenger.)

ROOD.

To the Crosse ligh of Est Malling xx^d.
W^m Derby of West Malling, 1492.
(Roch. Wills, v., 191A.)

MEOPHAM.

Dedication.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.

Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie parochialis
sancti Johannis Baptiste de Mepeham.
Hugh Chiddinstone, 1460. (23, Stokton.)

To be buried in the parysh church of
Seynt John Baptist in Meopham.
Richard Adene, gent., 1452. (13, Spert.)

Lights, etc.

ST. KATHERINE.

To the light of Saint Kateryn xij^d.
W^m Sprever, 1525. (35, Bodfelde.)

NORTHFLETE.

Dedication.

ST. BOTOLPH.

Sep. in cancell. ecclesie S^ci Botulphi
in Northflete coram ymagine beate
Marie. Nicholas Baron, clerk, 1424.
(5, Luffenam.)

To be buried in the churchyard of
Seynt Botoll of Northflete, 1508. Tho^s
Boydou. (29, Bennett.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

In the chancel, will of Nicholas Baron
(see above).

ST. ANDREW.

Sep. in capella beate Marie infra ecclesiam beati Botulphi de Northflete. Thomas Wombwell, 1484. (11, Legge.)

Sep. infra ecclesiam S^{ci} Botulphi de Northflete in capella beate marie coram imagine beate marie. Rich^d Davy, Esq., 1490. (41, Milles.)

To be buried in the church of Northflete in our lady Ile. Nicholas Clyfforde, Esq., 1546. (13, Coode.)

Sep. in quadam insula ecclie p^ochialis sancti Botulphi de Northflete coram altari beati Andree apostoli in eadem insula. John Gurney, 1475. (21, Wattys.)

To be buried in Saint Andrewes channsell w^t in the p^oish church of Saint Botulphe in Northflete. John Bramston, 1532. (24, Thower.)

ST. NICHOLAS.

Lum. S^{ci} Nicⁱ de Northflete. Rich^d Germain, 1450. (Roch., iv., 180.)

ST. VNCOMBER.

To the parish church of Northflete a stremer of stayned cloth w^t an image of Sainte Vncomber and my consaunce of my armes to be sett in the same price of iiij^s. W^m Swanne, Esq., 1533. (16, Hogen.)

ROOD.

To the p^oish church of Northflete iiij stayne clothes for iiij autres on autur of o^r lady and the secund the Rode autur and the iiij^{de} autur of Seynt Andrew. Tho^s Coll, 1499. (Roch., v., 316.)

ORPINGTON.

Dedication.

ALL SAINTS according to local tradition.

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

[No evidence from wills, but it will be seen that there was an image of All Saints in the church.]

To the rep^oacion of o^r lady in the same church of Orpyngton xx^s. Walter Stable, 1503. (25, Blamyr.) Also a taper before o^r lady.

ALL HALLOWES.

To all halowen in the same chirche xiiij^s iiij^d. Walter Stable, 1503. Also a taper before halowen.

HOLY TRINITY.

A taper before the trinite. Walter Stable, 1503.

OTFORD.

Dedication.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in medio navis ecclesie parochialis beati

Bartholomei Apostoli de Otteforde.
W^m Roger, 1475. (23, Wattys.)

Sepel. in cancello capelle Sancti Bartholomei de Otford in parochia de Shoreham cuius rector sum. Tho^s Hope, LL.D., 1487. (5, Milles.)

To be buried in church porch of Saint Bartholomew in Otford. Robert Multon, 1532. (20, Thower.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

Ad sustentacionem luminis beate Marie Virginis vocati le Branche x^s. W^m Roger, 1475.

OUR LADY OF PITY.

I will that myn executour shall cause the Image of our lady of Petye to be made and sett in the North side of the newe Ile. Robert Multon, 1532. (20, Thower.)

ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

Not named in any existing wills. Hasted says the image of him here was much frequented by those desirous of becoming mothers.

ST. THOMAS OF CANTER-
BURY.

Sepeliend. in capella de Otteford ad summum altare coram ymagine sancti Thome. M^r Thomas Bradewelle, rector of Shoreham and Otford, 1366. (Reg. G., fol. 123B, Ch. Ch. Cant.)

To the church of Oteford to maignteign sevyn pounce tapers fyve of them before our ladye and on before the ymage of Saynte Thomas. John Roger, 1537. (2, Dyngeley.)

THE PASCAL.

To Otteford Church a cove to mayntene the Paschall there for ever. Nicholas Huberd, 1496. (28, Vox.)

EAST PECKHAM.

Dedication.

ST. MICHAEL.

Ego Ricardus Ecclesley clericus et Rector S^{ct} Michaelis Archangeli de Est Peckham, 1426. (6, Luffenham.) Also John Cayser, 1491. (45, Milles.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

To be buryd in the chancel of our blessyd lady w^t in the church of Est Peckham. Joanna Waller of West Mallyng, 1520. (Roch., vii., 202.)

Lumen beate Marie jacentis in valuis ecclesie Sancti Michaelis de Peckham. Walter Walshe, 1515. (23, Holder.)

To be buried in the chapel callyd the chappell of our Lady in the church

- of Est Peckham. William Whetenhall, Esq., 1539. (34, Dyngesley.)
 (There was a chantry founded in Our Lady's chapel by Richard Culpeper. *Vide* Reg. J. Lowe, Epi. Roffen, fo. 207A.)
- OUR LADY OF GRACE. To the light before the Image called our Lady of Grace in the same church xij^d. Rob^t Theecher, 1528. (39, Porch.)
- OUR LADY OF PITY. To the payntyng of the image of our lady of Pity vj^s viij^d. John Cayser, 1491. (45, Milles.)
- ST. MICHAEL. John Cayser, 1491. (45, Milles.)
 John Arkynbold, 1524. (Roch., vii., 363.)
- ST. NICHOLAS. John Cayser, 1491.
- ST. BLAISE. To the reparacon of Saint Blasys window in the church of Est Peckham, xl^s. John Cayser, 1491.
- ST. CHRISTOPHER. To the payntyng of the image of Saint Cristofer x^s. Jⁿ Cayser, 1491.
- ROOD. To the beame light viij^d. Rob^t Thecher, 1528.
 To the reparacion and gylting of the crosse vj^s viij^d. John Cayser, 1491.

PENSHURST.

- Dedication.*
 ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Ad summum altare ecclesie Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Penshurst iij^s iiij^d. John Hardy, 1407. (14, Marche.)
- Lights, etc.*
 OUR LADY and OUR LADY OF PITY. To be buried in the church of Saynt John of Penshurst between or lady and our lady of Piety. W^m Merser, 1522. (Roch., vii., 276.)
- ST. KATHERINE and ST. MARGARET. The altar of the blessed virgins Katherine and Margaret in Penshurst church named in will of Robert Goseborne, clk., vicar. (Canterbury Consistory Court, vol. xiii. Dated 3 July, proved 5 Oct. 1523.)

SEVENOAKS.

- Dedication.*
 ST. NICHOLAS. Ad summum altare Sancti Nicholai de Sevenok. John Mille, gent., 1459. (21, Stokton.)
- Sep. in cimiterio Sancti Nicholai de Sevenok. Walter Bedyll. (5, Bennett.)
- Lights, etc.*
 OUR LADY. Lego capellano beate Marie ibidem iij^s iiij^d. Tho^s Mugworthy, clerk, Sevenoke, 1503. (29, Blamyr.)*

* There was a chantry of Our Lady at Sevenoaks.

- A cow to fynde lyght to brenne before
y^e ymage of our lady in our ladys chan-
sell in Sevenoke for eu'more. John
Harysone, 1525. (Roch., viii., 10.)
- OUR LADY OF PITY. Vnum cereum coram ymagine pietatis
beate Marie in cancello ex parte boriali.
John Beele of Sevenoke, 1471. (8,
Wattys.)
- ST. MICHAEL. Sep. in choro ecclesie de Sevenoke
coram ymagine S^ci Michaelis. Thomas
Mugworthy, clk., 1503. (29, Blamyr.)
- ST. PETER. To be buried in Seint Petirs chauncell
within the p'isshe church of Seint
Nicholas in Sevenoke. Robert Tottis-
herst, gent., 1512. (8, Fetiplace.)
- ROOD. Sep. in navi ecclesie ante crucem in
introitu chori ante hostium cancelli.
David Vabhokyn, 1474. (15, Wattys.)
- ST. JOHN BAPTIST (Hospital of). Lego capellano Sancti Johannis Bap-
tiste ibidem iij^s iij^d. Thomas Mug-
worthy, clerk, Sevenoke. 1503.

SHOREHAM.

- Dedication.* Ad sepeliendum in cimiterio ecclesie
ST. PETER and ST. PAUL. Petri et Pauli de Shoreham. Thomas
Wiborne, 1532. (18, Thower.)
- Lights, etc.* To be buried in o^r lady chapell in the
OUR LADY. church of Shoreham vnder the stone
where as my mother was buried. Thomas
Polley, 1528. (1, Jankyn.)
- SEPULCHRE. Lumini sepulture resurrectionis domi-
nice in eadem ecclesie xij^d. Thomas
Wiborne, 1532. (18, Thower.)

STANSTEAD.

There is no evidence respecting this church in mediæval times
available.

The dedication, according to local tradition, is in honour of
"St. Mary."

SUNDRIDGE.

- Dedication.* This is usually stated to be "un-
known," and the few wills of Sundridge
people extant do not help towards solv-
ing the question.
- Edward Isley of Sundridge, in 1525,
desired "to be buried at the discrecon
of myn executour. Item I bequeth
to the p'ish church of Alhalowes x^s.
Item I geve to the parishe church

of Sondrich in Kent a vestment of Chanlett for prest deacon and subdeacon." Whether the "pish church of Alhalowes" is Sundridge Church is however doubtful. On the other hand, if the contention of some that the image of the Patron always stood on the north side of the high altar be correct, then the request in John Isly's will, given below, would indicate that Saint Mary the Virgin is the Patron here.

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.
SEPULCHRE.

To be bured in the high chauncell before oure lady in a tombe in the wall for to sett the sepulcur vpon and a wyndow to be made of the bredith of the same tombe in the church off Sondrich. John Isly, 1494. (21, Vox.)

WROTHAM.

Dedication.

ST. GEORGE.

Sep. in medio cancelli ecclesie Sancti Georgii de Wrotham. John Sundressch, clerk, 1426. (5, Luffenham.)

To be berid in the chauncell of Saint George in Wroteham. Th^{os} Gauge, clerk, 1470. (31, Godyn.)

Lights, etc.

OUR LADY.

Lego lumini Beate Marie ij vaccas. James de Pekham of Wrotham, 1400. (Reg. Abp. Arundell, part i., fol. 176b.)

ST. GEORGE.

Ralf Melcheborn, vicar, legavit pro pictura S^{ci} Georgii vjs viij^d. 1404. (Reg. Abp. Arundell, part i., fol. 207b.)

A pece of land to fynd a lampe to brenne bifore Saint George for euer, lyyng to a pece of lond callid the Rede. Th^{os} Gauge, clerk, 1470. (31, Godyn.)

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.

Vnum cereum ardentem coram Imagine Sancti Johannis Baptiste in ecclesia p'ochiali de Wroteham. Walter Sexton, 1485. (46, Milles.)

ROOD.

To be buried in the church of Saint George at Wrotham before the Rode besyde my wife. Tho^s Pekham, gent., 1515. (6, Holder.)

THE HERSE.*

Ad le herse light ibidem. Walter Sexton, 1485. (46, Milles.)

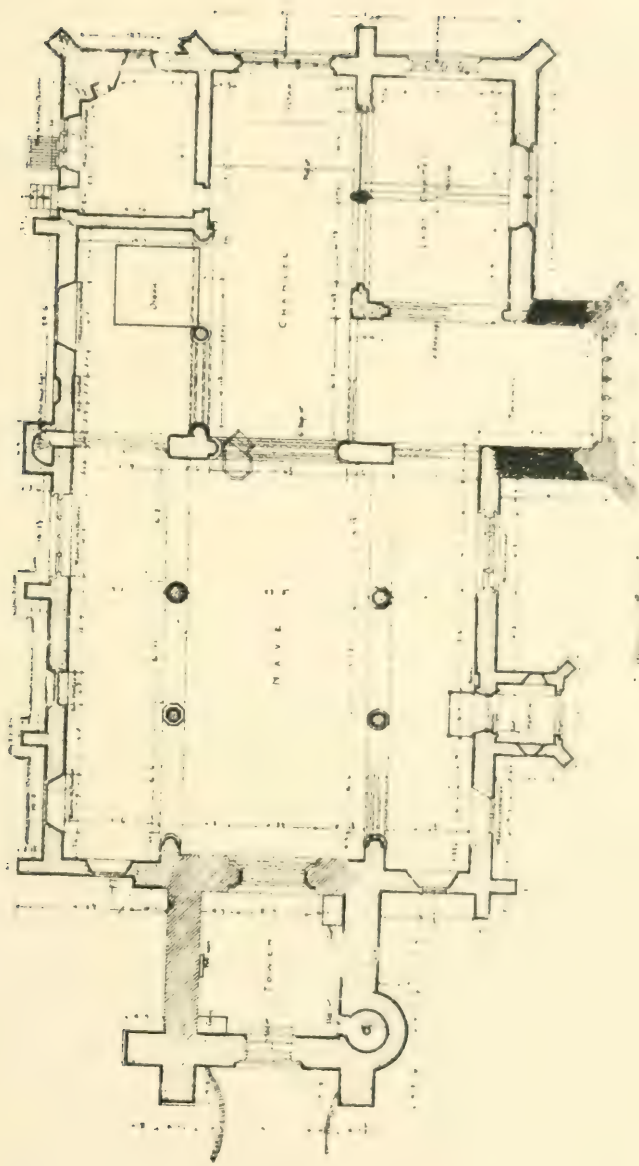
* See note, p. 144

THE CHURCHES OF SITTINGBOURNE AND MILTON.

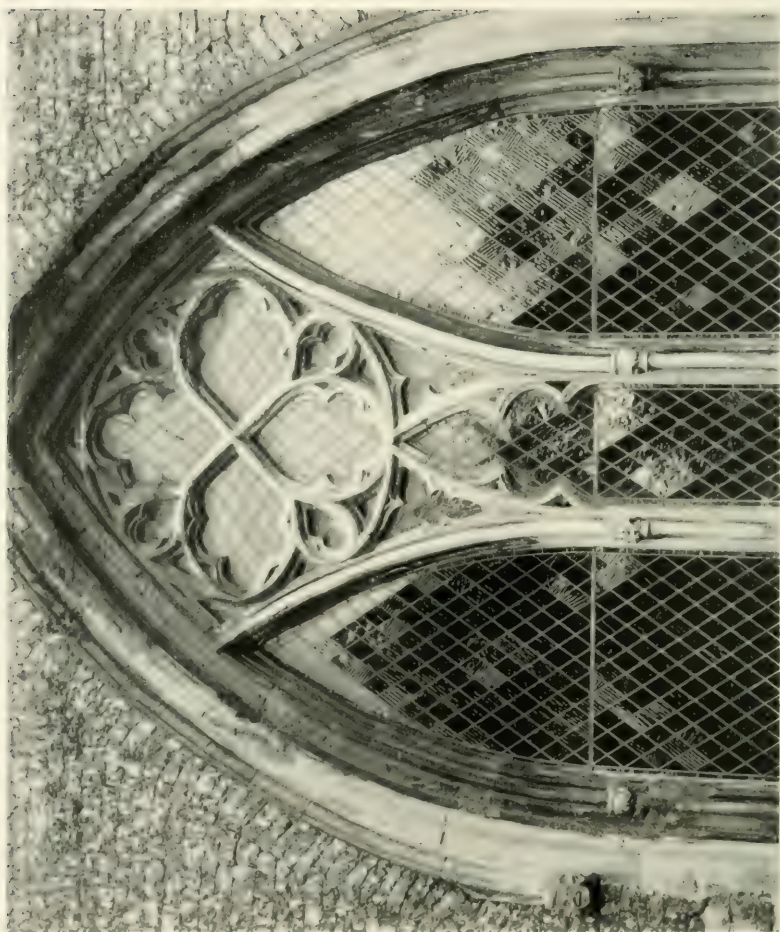
BY F. GRAYLING.

SITTINGBOURNE.

FEW parish churches have survived, without curtailment—which was at one time imminent—or even total rebuilding in an unsympathetic style, the ordeals which, as will be noticed in the course of this Paper, this fine and thoroughly Kentish example has undergone. The existing building is to be traced from a smaller Romanesque beginning, the only portions of which now standing above ground are the eastern and western walls of the transept and parts of the pier-masses in its vicinity. Externally we cannot fail to observe the contrast between the admirable dressed flint-work of the early fourteenth-century period, referred to in the *Glossary of Architecture* under “Masonry,” and the rough field flint construction of the earlier builders. The original outer walls followed the lines of the present pillars and arches in the nave and archbishop’s chancel, and their foundations are occasionally exposed. The first enlargement of the earlier Church took place in the thirteenth century, when that portion of the central chancel which includes the recessed mural arcade and plain lancet windows was added. Some years afterwards the present nave and aisles, and the basement of the tower as high as the graceful western arch, were developed, and completed by the early part of the fourteenth century. The old outer nave walls were in this instance thrown down gradually as the works proceeded, and not pierced with arches as was usual in this county. The smaller Church did not extend further than the west end of the present nave. The arches in the body of the Church are set upon alternate round and octagon pillars, including the responds of the chancel arch. There is no hood mould-



GROUND PLAN OF SITTINGBOURNE CHURCH



GEOMETRICAL WINDOW. SITTINGBOURNE.

LIFE TWO SIDE PANELS AND MULLIONS REMOVED BY PATTEN, 1765.

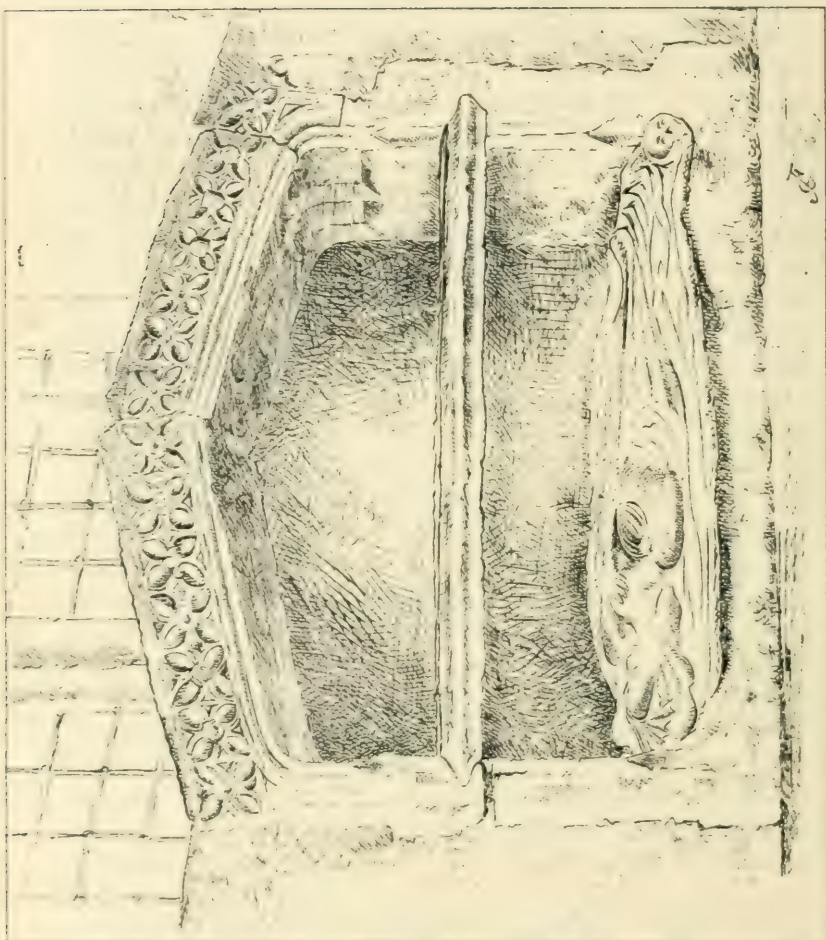
ing on the aisle side. Making allowance for a vandalism committed on the eastern responds in the fifteenth century, the whole building west of the chancel arch is a well-designed composition, the work of one mind. It is illustrated in Bland's *Arches, Piers, and Buttresses*, but without the deformity to be presently referred to. With regard to the aisles, we shall understand their appearance better by reference to the other sections of this Paper.

The Lady Chapel was erected by Simon of Chilton early in the fourteenth century. The whole of the space beneath what should be the dais reserved for the Lord's table includes a bold ribbed crypt, having a single quadripartite vault, two single-light transition windows, and a small pointed door leading up into the Church. In the south wall of the upper chapel we should carefully examine the elaborate geometrical window, once of five lights, now of three only, as will be explained. This design, evidently by the same hand, was only repeated at the west end of Brecon Priory Church in harder stone, and therefore with less ornament. In the interval between the well-directed works of the fourteenth and those of the next century the eastern wall of the central chancel was set a little further back, the triplet of lancets removed, and a smaller window than that still remaining in the Lady Chapel of similar design was inserted, which remained till 1859. Externally, beneath the modern central window, the masonry is mere rubble, and the north-east buttress was placed diagonally to resist thrust. The Sacristy Chapel was then no higher than the sills of the lance-windows, which were open (or intended to be) to admit light. During the fourteenth century also the tower was increased in height from a well-marked place, and the shaftings, etc., of the first east chancel window can be seen built in on the north and south walls. The external niche in the buttress of the Lady Chapel, formed of a beautiful shelly oolite, is referred to as "St. Marie of the Boterasse." Old inhabitants remember a portion of the statuette *in situ*.

Coming now to the fifteenth century, the most important work was lengthening the old Romanesque transept towards the street, and the introduction of the grand rectilinear

window. The font dates from this time, and bears a cross patonce, two *pateræ*, a lipped rose, and Archbishop Thomas Arundel's arms impaling those of the See. Later on Robert Wy Barn (Canon Scott Robertson finds) bequeathed a sum of money to improve the rood-loft. It is still easy to see what was then done, although the screen and loft are lost, and the stairs remain as re-opened in 1872 by Mr. Payne. The eastern respond of the nave arches was on each side removed, and the arches above were rendered rampant by larger fresh *voussoirs* cut to a different sweep. The blemish caused is apparent in some of the diagonal views, in one of which six arches whole or in part appear. At Eastchurch we can see the screen uninterrupted by the piers, as was effected here. In order to light up the "jube" thus developed two larger windows in the style of the time were inserted in each nave aisle—the case of one still remains. Minor alterations, such as heightening the sacristy till its former lean-to roof was continuous with that on the North nave and Bayford aisles, also took place. At the end of the century the tower was finished off by a battlement and string-course; it had been designed to be higher. During the works one half of its northern wall was rebuilt in ragstone, and also a vertical half of the eastern wall. In each face so renewed the transition single-light openings in the ringing room, and the beautiful two-light fully-developed flowing traceried windows in the bell loft, were re-inserted; the north-east tower buttress was then altered from the Early English character of the rest. The great brick buttress probably dates from 1687, when Bartlet of Whitechapel cast six fine bells, which still remain, with modern additions. The inner door of the porch, the vaulting, and two little transition windows should be noticed. They are similar to the work in the closed-in crypt.

In July 1762 a great calamity happened. The whole of the roofing was destroyed in an hour by a plumber's fire, during a high wind, and this stately building, hitherto little injured by fanatical violence, "with all its ornaments and most part of its furniture destroyed," the exception being the "bells, clock, and chymes," stood in complete ruin



EASTER SEPULCHRE AT SITTINGBOURNE CHURCH.

for over two years, in consequence of delay respecting the four chancels. In the following December the parochial committee that had been immediately appointed after the fire, and empowered by the parishioners to "speedily rebuild and ornament the church," sent for George Dance, the celebrated architect of the day. After his visit on the 21st he reported at the George Hotel that, in his opinion, "the walls, pillars, and arches are strong and good, and with little repair fit to be built upon." The walls had been previously covered with straw—sixteen tons of lead saved—and after further delay the nave and aisles were re-roofed under the direction of one John Boykett of Milton at a cost of £488 2s. 3½d. A "brief" had passed the "great seal" and been read in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and London, with the following result:—10,090 papers, £1,246 10s. 3½d.; bad copper in the collection, 6s. 3d. After stamping, fiat, and salaries, there remained for the church £918 4s. 0½d. This brief was the subject of letters in the London press. The nave was provided with a semi-circular ceiling, and Italian cornices ran in all directions along the walls, and also into impossible places at the return ends. All the chancels, after narrow escapes from demolition, were ultimately roofed over by a pack of hedge carpenters. Archbishop Secker exercised a very helpful influence in all matters submitted to him. The large pointed window heads, including the great perpendicular one, were all cut off by the ceilings, and, with the exception of this and the geometrical example before referred to, all others within the building were deprived of their traceries, monials of Portland stone (where necessary) being substituted. This mode of treating church windows did not even then give entire satisfaction, for in the vestry book I find the following question raised: "Whether the Gothick work should be removed from the east window?"

All the monuments were destroyed or removed, and it should be mentioned that a Sep Vans monument had been previously removed from here to Ash Church, where it may still be identified. The Easter Sepulchre remains in the Bayford aisle. Concerning the effigy and its pathology we may consult the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, vol. iv.

It would appear, however, that the lady—one of the Lovelaces of Bayford Castle—died simply in child-birth, as there shewn. All the painted glass, remarkable for its heraldry, was thrown away. Five years after the fire the Church was reopened. “The old men must have wept.” Nothing much but further acts of vandalism were perpetrated in this patched-up temple till 1844, when, by the instruction of Mr. Vallance, Mr. Willement restored the south aisle west window. In 1859 another member of the same family presented the chancel window. Under the advice and direction of the late Mr. Slater the second east window was then removed. The present and third design is an acknowledged mistake. It would not be difficult to effect a good restoration, on thirteenth-century lines, also of the mural-arcade. In 1862 Mr. Slater restored the transept and the large window, then in the most ruinous condition. During 1868 the south-east window in the aisle was replaced by an exceedingly bad design. It is but fair to mention that Patten of Rochester was paid an extra sum above his contract, so dilapidated was this opening at that time (1765), and, when finally removed, whole pieces of the arch had fallen out. Still it ought to have been restored. In 1873, three years after our last visit, the late Mr. R. H. Carpenter entirely re-roofed the nave, and raised it to the old mark against the tower. But, in consequence of his never having been told that the Church had been burnt, he formulated his plan on Boykett’s work, and reproduced the semi-circular ceiling this time tricked out in fancy-dress Gothic versus block cornice at great expense. Shortly afterwards the whole Church began to spread. Without further interruption of Divine Service—for reopening had taken place with special services—extensive centerings and shorings were promptly erected, and Mr. Adcock gradually reconstructed all the great pier-masses. This period in the Church’s history will never be forgotten by those concerned at the time.

The restoration of the traceries has since been a gradual work. The exterior of the plain chancel blocked-lancets shews each to have two deep jambs, divided by slightly sunk chamfers. There may have existed shaftings, as in our

much Roman-cemented western door-case. Traces of half figures in fresco are seen upon the round pillar in the north aisle; they were first noticed by Miss Bell, and are similar to the faces seen in old glass at the end of the fourteenth century. We may observe the ledgers in the transept-gangway, and the matrices for brasses, and the stone of the poet Theobald—a native of the town, who wrote a good edition of Shakespeare, and was, in spite of Pope, a master of his subject, and a highly religious man. We have seen that the great Architect of the last century called attention to the necessity of little repairs. The compound pillar between the central and south chancels differs from all the rest in being of ragstone—not fire-proof, like those opposite and throughout the nave, which are of Reigate fire-stone. It therefore not only lost one of its shaftings, but became scaled on its south side during the conflagration. The only repair at the time was effected with brick rubbish, and it was afterwards subjected to occasional patchings with Bath stone. Quite lately a gentleman from London, representing an important commission, has inserted a sham base on to a portion of wall, which was till 1878 part of the crypt, a small portion of which was then cut off in altering the steps. Further casing has also been effected. In the prosecution of these works the stability of the column has been rendered uncertain. The explanation given of so extraordinary a mode of repair was, I understand, that from viewing certain indications of the mode of piercing these two fine arches, it was evident to the restorer (?) that the pillar never existed below a certain point. Unfortunately for any such absurd speculation, fully three-quarters of the lower half of the pillar are still in existence. Some people may admire the sham joints emphasized with a lead pencil and the apple-dumpling annulet-bands! But all true archaeologists and conservators of old buildings will agree with me that proper attention to this and some few architectural matters would be hailed with satisfaction when next the Society pay a visit to old Sittingbourne Church.

Since this Paper was written the whole building has undergone extensive repair. The battlements on both aisles have been renewed, and partially those upon the tower, which

latter are double-tabled. One of the buttresses has been renewed in ragstone. The hip roofs on both aisles should have been removed. The bells were all sent back to Whitechapel, and tuned together by modern machinery on the spot from whence they came in 1687. In the meantime the old fourteenth-century bell-frame, twice cobbled up, was removed.

This Paper would not be complete without some notice of the Whitechapel foundry which was established by Robert Mot, a native of East Kent, and carried on without interruption down to the present day. James Bartlet was the third and last of that family, who were the masters from 1619 to 1702, and his productions have not been surpassed, as the entire rings at Milton, Sittingbourne, and Hadlow testify, as well as the magnificent tenor at Lenham, which was pulled up by the writer during one of our meetings. The unusually fine tone brought out general approbation from members present. The Mearses, who held the foundry from 1782 to 1865, were a Kentish family, the first of that name having joined Chapman when he moulded the "Great Dunstan" of Canterbury Cathedral.

The two trebles of Sittingbourne Church were added in 1884, and being cast elsewhere were not entirely successful. When the bells arrived in London, 1897, the workmen searched the lofts to discover if possible the original moulding boards, as it was considered expedient to recast the sixth as well as the treble and second. The result has been entirely successful, the new bells all having the Whitechapel form of the seventeenth century, and are perfectly harmonious throughout.

The ancient glass in the little old fourteenth-century opening over the north door was put together and fixed by the writer in 1887; a similar and larger collection can be seen in the modern Gothic church of the Holy Trinity at the western portion of the town.

The illustration of the ground plan has been prepared specially for this Paper by an assistant of Mr. W. L. Grant, Architect, of Sittingbourne.

The Easter Sepulchre was drawn by Miss Grayling.

The mutilated geometrical window has been purposely photographed as close as possible by Mr. Ramell.



MILTON CHURCH, NEAR SITTINGBOURNE.



INTERIOR OF MILTON CHURCH

MILTON.

THIS magnificent edifice has been passed by and only noticed by a few members of the Kent Archæological Society on the railway journey to the Isle of Sheppey, both in 1870 and 1896. From whatever point viewed, whether on the summit of the chalk range or from the marshes in which it is situated, the grandeur of its mass is remarkable. Like all the early churches round Sittingbourne, there existed a single transept added very soon, and in most cases, with the exception of St. Michael's, this became eventually absorbed in an aisle, the end wall now alone remaining. It is evident at Milton that the lofty nave and part of the chancel belong to a class of church contemporary with Sheppey Minster and a few others.

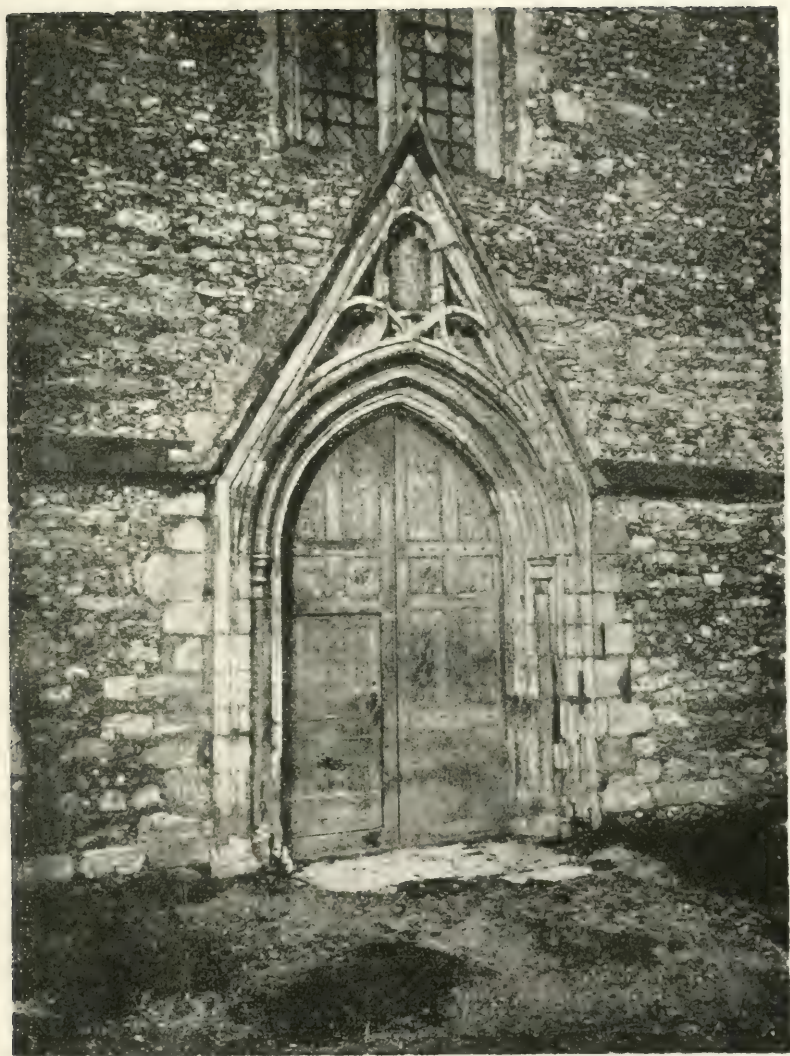
The following characteristics are noteworthy :—

There are lofty walls, containing regularly-laid Roman bricks from a large building known to have existed further north, for the excavation of which, however, permission was not granted when the churchyard was enlarged: also square-headed windows with wooden lintels and shutters, and a total absence of any distinct Romanesque-Norman features, although diligently searched for by trenching and other methods during 1889. The wooden lintels were all removed in the fifteenth century. The plan consists of nave and chancel, which may be the Saxon church, a south aisle and chancel divided from the older part by a range of pillars of middle-pointed design in the nave, and a pair of arches with an unusually lofty pillar of the same character between the chancels; a little sacristy, added on the north side evidently just before the fourteenth-century enlargement of the old church, is curious as still having preserved lintels and shutters to its pointed windows, and a singular window with a bracket in its gable, which was uncovered partially by the writer. But the glory of the whole is the western tower of the nave, begun with good footings (which are absent in the old early walls) in the time of

Edward III., and completed in about twenty years. The openings throughout are all thirteenth-century work re-used and fresh worked, as with the exception of the western portal and window the architect entirely depended upon his sets-off at the various stages and great size for distant and near effect. This is the largest parochial tower in the county, and now makes a fine galilee to the nave. The portal is well recessed and possesses a traceried canopy, a cast of which can be seen in the Crystal Palace, but tacked on to an arch of different character to its own, which is misleading.

The northern windows of the nave and chancel are all now four-light internally segmented headed fifteenth century, but it is quite evident that they are simple enlargements of square-headed openings with oak lintels. The windows of the south aisle are all fourteenth century; those in the Norwood chancel are all mis-restored, prior to 1889. The large window in the nave aisle is mongrel-Gothic; it replaced a sixteenth-century opening; but there can still be seen the rear arch of the fourteenth-century window in the centre of the old transept wall, which shews itself within and without by breaks in the line of the masonry, and having a lead flat over it instead of a plain tiled gable roof. The west window of the aisle is reticulated, and was very carefully mended *in situ* by Mr. Grant of Sittingbourne, who in 1889 acted as Architect, and redeemed the whole building from the decrepitude and filth of two centuries. Two low side windows were at the same time fully exposed by the writer; they lighted little chantry chapels enclosed by screens in connection with the great rood-screen; traces of painting exist, and a little piscina and the hinges for the usual shutter remain in the southern example.

The chancel roof is open, and of fourteenth-century date. The nave roof is also of about the same date, and has crossed struts over the collar-beams, which, when seen open from end to end, are very fine. Unfortunately, proper treatment was not allowed to be carried out in the roofs in 1889. The Norwood chapel roof is modern, and without interest. The gable has been heightened in brick. The history of the division between the chancel and nave is interesting, and bears



DOORWAY AT MILTON CHURCH.

upon the conditions that have altered or removed the chancel arches in other churches.

The form of the original arch is uncertain, but it would appear that in the first instance the wall was pierced with a small opening. On each side of this a pointed arch or hollow had been contrived. Then in the fifteenth century the whole of this was cut out for an enormous crucifix, and passages contrived from the aisle to pass over the grand rood-loft. In Henry VII.'s time the gable had been rebuilt in brick, and an ill-centred arch turned in the same material. The effect of this was even then to begin to overturn the north wall of nave and chancel. Consequently, up till 1889 there existed beneath the quasi-arch a hideous square framing and a number of iron ties.

The best treatment to be adopted was debated. The thrust-over northern pier shewed the soffit of the primary triple arrangement. No authority could be found for the details of the arches; eventually, at the suggestion of the writer, it was decided to remove the brick gable which was causing all the mischief, and it was found necessary to take down the whole north pier, foundations and all. This was carefully rebuilt stone for stone, and instead of a stone arch a large oak principal was constructed, taking the form of the attempted early sixteenth-century arch. In the pier, which had been up and down before, we found several voussoirs that had been part of a plain central arch during the fourteenth century, and had either dropped or been removed in the fifteenth century. Thus have existed here four distinct and different chancel arches. The building in this part is perfectly secure now. The corbels were carefully replaced for the rood-loft, and the passages reopened in the south pier.

The nave pillars are surrounded at their bases with stone benches. A miniature vaulting with ribs supports the wall over the door that leads up the staircase in the tower.

Very little remains of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century painted glass. Of the ancient furniture and screens nothing remains but a few linen panels in oak.

The sedile in the Norwood chancel is two-seated, and there are brasses to Sir John Norwood and Thomas Alys, as well as a good marble altar-tomb.

The tiling was similar to that in the Mayor's chapel at Bristol, evidently brought from Spain. One entire example from Milton is in Maidstone Museum, the rest was all broken up and the floor laid in brick many years ago.

There are five bells by the celebrated James Bartlet of Whitechapel, 1681. The space available would easily accommodate the largest possible ring of twelve bells.

The east window of the chancel is original, and similar to the Selling window, but is a little later and much improved.

The east window of the Norwood chancel has its own case, and slight ogee head and finial externally. The tracery was put in after a gale early in the century, and is incorrect. Brayley, in his *History of Kent*, fully describes the original. An old helmet is suspended in this part.

The Church is dedicated in honour of the Most Holy Trinity, and although remote from the populous town is now of great use for the services in connection with benefit societies, first set on foot by the late Vicar. The restoration in 1889 was carried out under the energetic superintendence of the Rev. Robert Payne Smith.

The tower needs some well-directed attention on its eastern face, although temporarily secured against further fissure, caused originally by lightning. In repairing the aisle roof one beam was found quite burnt through by the presence of an old disused stove-pipe.

The illustrations represent the western door, and a general northern view, shewing the great tower, nave, chancel, and thirteenth-century sacristy. There is also an interior view, shewing the condition of the chancel arch before 1889 and the outline of the pointed hollow in the northern pier.

THE CINQUE PORTS AND GREAT YARMOUTH. BAILIFFS' REPORT, 1588.

TRANSCRIPT BY

W. L. RUTTON, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ancient connection between the Cinque Ports and Great Yarmouth is probably little remembered at the present day, although, as conjectured by Professor Montagu Burrows,* the famous confederation of the Southern Ports may even have had its origin in the annual expedition of their fishermen to the Yarmouth waters. It appears that these fishing expeditions were made as early as Saxon times, for the earliest known charters granted to the Ports, viz., those of Kings John and Edward I., refer to privileges enjoyed in the time of Edward the Confessor. The most primitive of these privileges was that of "den and strond," *i.e.*, the right of the fishers to use the strand and the denes (as to this day the sandy coastlands of Yarmouth are called), there to make fast their ships, dry their nets, pack the fish, or sell it. In course of time an annual fair became established on the denes, to which resorted merchants from London, Norwich, and other places, and—as an authority was necessary for the preservation of order, the administration of justice, and the imposition of fines for the infraction of law or custom—the Cinque Ports, represented by their deputed bailiffs, were constituted as that authority.

In the annual fair and its requirement of temporary dwellings for fishers, salesmen, and customers, lay the inception of the town of Yarmouth; tents and booths gradually developed into the permanent habitations of settlers. Manship, of Elizabethan time, wrote in his "Greate Yermouth": "The town began to be builded and inhabited" in the reign of Henry I., "when that sand in the sea whereupon the town of Yarmouth is builded did grow into firm land." The development of the town continued through the reigns of successive sovereigns, until its importance was recognized in its creation as a free burgh by King John in 1209. But the authority

* *Cinque Ports*, Historic Towns Series.

of the Cinque Ports during the season of the fair, lasting for the six weeks between Michaelmas and Martinmas, was not displaced; and that such recurring usurpation (as it would seem to the Corporation of Yarmouth) should have been by them submissively borne, was scarcely to have been expected of human nature. Contention between the two authorities became a matter of annual occurrence, the Ports claiming their rights and temporary jurisdiction as stoutly and persistently as they were resisted by the Corporation; sometimes even the quarrel resulted in bloodshed. Modification of the ancient privileges of the Ports, and frequent concessions to the town authorities, were made with the object of promoting peace. In the reign of Henry VIII. the Ports' Bailiffs, of whom at one time there had been as many as ten, were reduced from four to two; and in the reign of Elizabeth their authority had been placed on equality with that of the Yarmouth Bailiffs. Concessions little availed, however, so long as the hated annual visit continued to be made; this lasted until 1663, when, in consequence of the endless strife occasioned, and the decline in the status of the Cinque Ports, it was by themselves resolved "that the Yarmouth service be suspended;" nor was it afterwards resumed.

It was required of the Bailiffs on their return home to report the manner of their reception at Yarmouth, the business transacted in court, and the incidents of their journey. About forty of these reports, ranging in date from 1582 to 1639, are found in the archives of New Romney. They are quaint and interesting records; and having, in co-operation with my late esteemed friend Henry Bachelier Walker, J.P., many times Mayor of New Romney, transcribed a few of them, I now present the report of 1588.

W. L. RUTTON.

A TRUE RECORD of the entertainment, orders, and causes, as were preceded unto at the town of Great Yarmouth by Mr. Thomas Lake of the town and port of Hastings, Jurat, and Mr. Henry Lennarde of the town and port of Dover, Jurat, Bailiffs of the Barons of the Cinque Ports to the town of Great Yarmouth, this year elected and commissioned during the time of the Free Fair there, together with Mr. Austin Peirs and Mr. Bennett Cubitte, merchants, Bailiffs of Yarmouth aforesaid, this year Anno Domini 1588, Anno Regni Elizabethe nunc Regine Anglie xxx^{mo}.

Saturday, Michaelmas Eve, le xxvijth die Septembris, Anno supradicto. This day after we had dined at Lastocke [Lowestoft], within vj miles of Yarmouth, we took horse and proceeded on the

rest of our journey. And drawing near towards Yarmouth Bridge there attended our coming divers sorts of poor, lame, and diseased people, who cried unto the Bailiffs of the Ports for some relief, on whom we bestowed some small pieces of money. And so riding over the bridge about ij of the clock in the afternoon, somewhat rather than our coming was expected, notwithstanding there gathered and flocked together great store of people who very friendly bade us welcome, to whom we gave thanks and pushed forward into the town along by the quay, and there took our lodging which was appointed for us at one Mr. Dametts' house, one of the xxiiij [jurats or aldermen] of the same town, where we were very courteously entertained. And having remained there about ij hours, and understood that the Bailiffs and their company were very busy in their Council House, and for that we were very desirous to have some private conference with the old and new Bailiffs as new Bailiffs only (for that the matter concerned them especially upon certain articles which would grow in question between us and them next day, if happily they were not prevented as agreed upon), we sent therefore our town clerk unto the said Bailiffs with commendations unto their worships, desiring that we might have some conference with them that night if it pleased them, for that we had matter to impart unto them from the whole Ports. Whereunto they condescended, and afterwards the said ij new Bailiffs, viz., Mr. Peirs and Mr. Bennett, came unto our lodging unto us and very courteously saluted us and bade us welcome, saying: We have such occasion of business this night as we should scarce have seen you until the morrow, but that you sent to impart some matter unto us. So thanking them for that courtesy we took them by the hands and placed them at a sideboard, the one at the one side and the other at the other, on the upper hand of either of us, and with great reverence used the one to the other. We said: For that divers abuses and discourtesies had been offered of late by the Bailiffs of Yarmouth unto the Bailiffs of the Ports, as by the relation of their success at the Brotherhood House appeared, touching the sitting under the canopy and the Queen's arms in the Church and at the toll-house, as been accustomed, etc. Our meaning was therefore, said we, to impart thus much unto you from the body of the whole Ports (whose Commissioners we are in that behalf), that you may confer with your brethren and to give us your determined answers hereupon, viz. :—

First, that in the Church, as in the said toll-house, as we are equal with you in real justice doing, etc., so we may like equally be placed with you in place, and that the Queen's arms might be indifferently between you and us. Secondly, that we might have the prisoners delivered and brought before us to take view of them *more solito* without any fraud, as lately hath been thought to have been used heretofore, by taking the prisoners out of the prison and bestowing them at your pleasure, of purpose to derogate our liberty. Thirdly, that the morrow being Sunday and Michaelmas day, and

we being accustomed to make our proclamation on the Sunday after Michaelmas day, which if we should now so do before the next Sunday the fair would be half ended.

Upon all which these Bailiffs promised us to confer with their brethren and to give us their determined answer next morning. And so we rising went with them to the further entry of our lodging, and the younger Bailiff, the Bailiff Bennett, inviting us unto his house next day, we gave him thanks and so departed.

Sunday, xxiijth die Septembris 1588, Michaelmas Day. The same day betimes in the morning, by reason of the business that followed, Bailiff Bennett came unto us to our lodging to deliver unto us what was determined touching [our] demands.

First, that we should have indifferent and equal place with them under the Queen's arms both in the Church and in the toll-house. But, said he, the cloth is very scant, and we have accustomedly used to have our learned steward Mr. Stubbes sit with and between us under the said Queen's arms, for that he is a very grave and wise gentleman and one they were much beholden unto, they would be loth to displace him now to make you room, and that my partner and I, saith he, should sit without them I am sure it is not your meaning, but, says he, you shall have such and so more room under them indifferently as we have, and look, saith he, what you have had either by authority or of courtesy heretofore the like we grant you now. To whom we answered: Nay, Mr. Bailiff, that is more than we crave, for whereas heretofore we had the prenomination and prerogative of style in court, and proclamations and divers other things which we might expect and did use, by reason of heartburning and grudge thereupon, for quietness sake we were content to alter and to give you indifference with us therein. But touching the question of the place, said we, we think not well of Mr. Stubbes his sitting directly under the Queen's arms; he is no justicer in that place and therefore doth usurp the place; there are only ij chosen of you, and ij elected and commissioned of us, and we iij are jointly to occupy that place, and therefore pray tell him if he will not give place we are not determined to take any place, but will return and make relation thereof unto our Masters of the Ports by whom we are sent. With more other speech tending thereunto we shewed what we were determined to do if he would not remove and we to have our places jointly with them under the Queen's arms on their right hand, as had been accustomed. Whereupon the said Bailiff Bennett making some doubt, as it seemed, what to answer, or some haste to inform his company what we had determined, answered us nothing to the matter, but wishing [that all] might be well, somewhat sailing took his leave, whereby we gathered that the said Mr. Stubbes was placed there by them of purpose to put us by the seat.

Afterwards we went to Church, and for that we were informed that the sermon was further spent than we were aware of, we went directly into the Church, and so not staying for any messenger to

come unto us we went up unto the seats where the Bailiffs of Yarmouth and the xxiiij [jurats or aldermen] sat, where we were of some of them very courteously received until we drew near unto the place where we were wont to sit next unto the old Bailiffs. And seeing they neither offered us courtesy nor made us room, finding a void place within vj persons of the said old Bailiffs, we sat us down, and sermon being ended, as the Bailiffs passed by us we desired them, after they had finished their own business at the toll-house, to send for us, which they promised, and desired if it pleased us to accompany them thither, which for some considerations we refused, saying we would tend on them at our host his house, and so they departed leaving us in the Church. And afterwards we came to our host his house, where having stayed about ij hours, they sent for us by one of their sergeants. And at our coming to the toll-house we found both against the door in the street as also in the house a great multitude of people assembled, and having some room made for us to pass through we entered the Bar, and reverence done unto the Bailiffs of Yarmouth (then sitting accompanied with Mr. Stubbes their learned steward, who sat in the middle between them, Doctor Bishopp, and divers others the Bench full in scarlet gowns), Mr. Bailiff Lake signified the cause of our coming and proffered the commission first for the east ports to occupy the place, for that his own man could not get through the press with his, which Bailiff Peirse received, delivering it to Mr. Stubbes and he unto his under steward to be read. Which commission being read he delivered likewise the other commission from the west ports, which in like sort received and read, Mr. Stubbes stood up and in the name of the rest told us our commissions were allowed and we heartily welcome, and so desired us to come up and take our places. But the said Bailiff Lake seeing Mr. Stubbes in the middle between the ij Bailiffs, and he together with them to occupy almost the whole place under the Queen's arms, which every year they strove for, answered that they would hardly like well of his sitting in that place, for, saith he, you sit in the midst shewing yourself to be as the chief justicer there, where in truth after our admittance you have nothing to do, and though you have been permitted by their heretofore courtesy so to do, yet you cannot compel us to condescend thereunto. Besides the incumbrance of the place, whereby we are in a manner of purpose (as we must take it) detruded, we think that the Queen's arms being there set to shew the authority of the place, there ought no person to be included within them but those that were lawfully authorized to represent the Queen's person in real justice doing, of which number you are none. To which the said Stubbes being thus taken up, confused in himself almost what to answer for anger, at last very mildly said: It is not unknown to the Bailiffs and the rest of the masters of the town that I am by office both Justice of the Peace and Quorum, and in that respect may in some sort be seen the place. But to the matter, saith he, touching the jurisdic-

tion of the place I answer, that yearly upon needful and necessary affairs and business for the town this day to be done, they have always a learned steward to advise and direct them; whereunto of late years myself was chosen and am called to this place yearly by them for that purpose. Now for that the matters of the town are only handled here this day wherein I am assistance with them, your admittance only excepted, which is also an authority in them likewise, and you of no authority as yet until either your proclamation made or some act in court done, I see not, saith he, but I may by their leave sit here as yet without your controlment. But notwithstanding if it shall please them who placed me here so likewise now to displace me again, I am very well content; if not, saith he, in truth I am and will sit here. Whereunto Mr. Bailiff Lake replied again, and asked him if after the time he spake of he would give them place; he answered he would not be tied to our wills, but still harped upon this string, if he were displaced thence by those by whom he was placed there he was contented. Then, said Bailiff Lake, if that be it you stand upon let that be a question among the masters here whether you shall sit there or no, that I may be resolved whether you do it of your own authority or by their appointment, that I may know of whom to complain. And so after much speech thereupon, having no other answer from him, and requested again to take our places, for that we would see what room they would make us, we went up, and they made us no more room than that one of us might scarcely sit under the cloth of the Queen's arms. Which we perceiving refused to sit down at all, first challenging, by authority of the King's dyte and the compositions between them of Yarmouth and us of the Ports, our accustomed places, which they denied us, saying: Will you both sit on the upper hand of us? We answered we accustomedly used so to do, and for that the prenomination and style in court belonged unto us now this year we ought to have it. And further said that long since we had taken a corporal oath to maintain to our power the liberties and free customs of the Ports, and especially being now a special matter of charge in our commission, we told them plain if we might not sit as we were wonted to sit we willed them deliver us our commissions again and we would depart, for we neither would nor could agree to the contrary. They answered us touching our commissions, if we would take them again out of the court we might, but they would deliver none unto us, and further, if we were so willing to be gone God speed us well. And so, with many other speeches more troublesome than necessary, we departed without naming our officers or taking view of the prisoners as had been accustomed. And coming along unto our host his house, Bailiff Bennett, the young Bailiff, who the night before had invited us to dinner, sent his sergeant unto us to pray us to dine with him, but Bailiff Lake somewhat grieved at the discourtesy had been offered them made this answer: That they had given him such sharp sauce as he had no stomach to digest their meat. I must be plain, saith

he, and so tell him. Afterwards there came another sergeant with the like message, and debating upon the matter, lest they should think us too obstinate, we returned thanks unto his master, craving pardon for our forepassed message, we would come, and so went thither to dinner. And after dinner went with them to the sermon again in the afternoon, when we took our places on the one side of the Queen's arms under part of them. And sermon ended we walked and talked very familiarly together, and were bid that night unto Mr. Bailiff Peirs his house to sup, where we supped, *et eodem die porro nihil.*

Monday, Ultimo die Septembris 1588. Memorandum that this morning we were sent for by the Bailiffs to come unto them at the toll-house, and at our coming we went up unto the seat where we found the ij Bailiffs of Yarmouth sitting with the Queen's arms wholly between them two, Mr. Stubbes being not there, and they desired us to sit us down, leaving only a small place for Bailiff Lake on the right hand under the cloth of the Queen's arms, under which he could scarce sit, and no room at all for Bailiff Lennarde. To whom Bailiff Lake answered: I could think well to sit here with you as in joint authority, so I think you leave us not sufficient room whereby the common sort may perceive the same. Then Bailiff Bennett answered: You have as much place offered you as your predecessors have had before you, and more you get not. And further said: What Mr. Bailiff Lake you take too much upon you, you come rather to wrangle than otherwise, for yesterday you presumed to thrust before me from Church, which was more than you ought to do, and more than I will suffer hereafter. To which Bailiff Lake answered: First, saith he, what my predecessors have had and agreed unto of late by constraint shall be no precedent for me; if they have neglected to maintain our custom and keep their place they have done us injury, I mean the whole Ports in whose names they were commissionate to the contrary, and given way unto your wills to make this question now thereupon. . . . And so we now, taking the advice of our learned counsel thereupon, with the consent of the whole Ports, are directed thus to do, to take our former places, and further we will not go, and less we will not have. Secondly, said Bailiff Lake, in that you call me wrangler for challenging our own right, I am sorry my Masters of the Ports had no better judgment than to send a wrangler unto you. And is all my travel and service done to my great costs to make this quietness that so long hath continued between you and us, now for challenging but our wonted place termed wrangling, well?—etc. Thirdly, saith he, touching my thrusting before you from Church, in truth you do me wrong, for I offered no such disorder in thrusting, but for my going before you I answer, that having this year the prenomination in court, my authority is greater than yours, and so may well take place of yours. Besides that, saith he, as for you Mr. Bailiff the younger, you sit here with us but of courtesy by our late composition, and if we should go to the words of the edict we are to take no knowledge of

you nor your authority, for we are sent here to a Provost Bailiff, and not to Bailiffs or Provosts, and yet the more courtesy we offer you by our compositions, the more you enroach and seem to cavil with us. To which he answered that they had no Provost, and that he was as old a Bailiff as I, and that they were now incorporate by name of Bailiffs, and that the one had no more authority than the other, but were joint. Bailiff Lake answered that were strange that the King should grant an edict and not know the officers of the place, and direct us to a Provost and there no Provost. But letting pass the name, I think, saith he, you doubt whether the King could make any such grant of edict. One of them within the bar answered, they doubted not of that. Then there is no more to doubt, saith he, but whether he hath granted any such or no, which if you doubt you shall see it here under the great seal—and so shewed it forth. And afterwards, urging still the words of edict, told them that the edict being of greater antiquity and authority than their corporation (the one granted many years ago from King to Kings of this Realm, and confirmed by Her Majesty that now is Queen of the Realm, and their corporation but of late determined and agreed upon), that of courtesy for quietness sake we had yielded to the contrary, the edict being before and above their corporation, we were to take knowledge but of one Provost. Whereupon there grew some speech and question amongst them, and in the end it was answered by their under steward that the words of the edict were not so, but as he remembered we were directed thereby to the Provosts or Prepositis in the plural number. To answer them thereunto Bailiff Lake referred them to the said edict which they received, and making little account of, refused to read unto the place, and said they could not find it. Oh, quoth Bailiff Lake, you find something there I perceive you like not very well of, and so you will not read it. And so after much speech thereupon used, the elder Bailiff, Bailiff Peirce, said unto us: My masters, saith he, leaving all these speeches, what is it you require? Bailiff Lake answered: Our request, saith he, is myself to sit and have the Queen's arms indifferently between you and me, and your and my partner to sit at other side of us as near as they can under the cloth; this is our request, and this we are commisionate to challenge by the consent of the whole Ports, according to our custom. Then the younger Bailiff asked if we would thrust them out of their places, and they sat there before we came, and would keep their places. Bailiff Lake answered: No, I will not thrust you out of your places, saith he, but require our places equal with yours, and there is difference between thrusting and requesting. And further, saith he, if you would have me sit more than indifferently among you I would not. They answered again the Bailiffs both and the rest of the Bench, that they knew of no such customary place as we spoke of, that we should sit otherwise than was proffered us. Then said we: We do as may appear by the records of others which we have of their proceedings from time to

time in this place; and myself also, quoth Bailiff Lake, our Bailiffs hitherto can testify the same, which if they would not grant unto us now we durst not except [accept] of the contrary, but would depart and make relations unto the Ports thereof. They answered we might depart if we would, and more room they would not make us. And as we were ready to go our way Mr. Eacher, one of the counsel of the town, stood up and said: Mr. Lake, I am sure you are not ignorant that you are commissionate hither by the Ports for this service now to be done, which by you being left undone you stand in danger of loss of all your liberties by express words in the edict. To whom Bailiff Lake answered: Mr. Eacher, I can ensure you, saith he, that is not so; for if our liberties stood upon it I would rather suffer stripes than I will give any occasion to make any little breach of them, for our ancient Charter and Customs of the Ports cannot be taken away from us but for high treason. But if you mean this liberty of holding the Free Fair, in truth we had rather lose it in challenging our rights than enjoy it with such disquiet and disgrace. And for ourselves, said he, we receive no profit by it, and therefore may very well be without it, for our people of the Ports by their great Charter shall be still free of stran and den, of buying and selling, and of sending their withernam* for wrong done notwithstanding. Then one Mr. Drewrye, sitting on the Bench with his cap on his head, controlling us with other words than might beseem him, which I remember not, being as we were ready to depart, was answered by Bailiff Lake that he was not to direct any speech unto him, but to the Bailiffs, and therefore he might hold his peace. He told him again he was not in his place of justice, and therefore he might say as much. Bailiff Lake replied: Then belike, saith he, I have no authority except I have my place, which you deny me, and then in truth with like reason you may deny me my authority. With other words to that purpose, craving our commissions again, as the day before, which they would not give us, we so departed.

Eodem die. The same day in the afternoon the Bailiffs of Yarmouth sent Mr. Eacher and one other to signify unto us that there was a prisoner taken upon suspicion of felony, and desired our company to have him examined; we answered that our officers were not named, nor ourselves excepted [accepted] as we thought. For that we were not admitted to our places as yet, we would not meddle or deal in any matters, but would depart and certify what discourtesy had been offered us in prejudice of our accustomed liberty and contempt of our commissions where they must answer it; with many other words *pro et contra* between us and them to that purpose, and with this answer they departed. And we determining indeed the next day to ride to Lastocke [Lowestoft], as though we would have ridden home again, as we told them we were so commissionate to do by the consent of the whole Ports if they denied us (as they had Mr. Manwoode the last year) our places that of

* Warrant for recovery of compensation or fine.

right belonged unto us, and there to stay some time, and so return again, which we might very well do without prejudice of our liberties, for that we could not make our proclamations for the Free Fair until the Sunday following. But this we devised to do of purpose to put it to the uttermost plunge, to see if their stomachs were so great they would lose rather the benefit of the Free Fair, which towards them was very great, and which they could not hold without us, and would let us go.

Tuesday, Primo die Octobris 1588. This day in the morning they sent again unto us to know the cause why we did so estrange and withdraw ourselves from them now in this service for the Free Fair, and to know what discourtesy had been offered us, or if any thing we found ourselves aggrieved more than for the places. Bailiff Lake answered, Yea.

1. First for the place, and besides the right we have to it. The Bailiffs themselves, saith he, promised we should have so much seat with them under the Queen's arms as any our predecessors have had, which they now deny us, and which we find both in ancient and latter records within these iiij' [400] years thus described unto us: the Provost or Head Bailiff of Yarmouth, together with the Bailiffs of the more ancient towns of the ij of the Ports, indifferently to sit under the Queen's arms, and their partners close on either side of them as might appear by the same records.

2. Secondly, for that they had strangers at our entrance into the toll-house on the Bench a Sunday before our admittance to control us, namely, Doctor Bushopp and others.

3. Thirdly, for that on Sunday the younger Bailiff coming out of the Church seemed to pull me back going out after the elder Bailiff and before him.

4. Lastly, for that he called me yesterday wrangler in the open hall.

To which they answered: Is this all? And so stayed awhile, and then began again to tell us their message further was that if the place were the chiefest matter they were willed to signify unto us, that the Bailiffs would yield unto us rather in that, and give us more room than any our predecessors before time had had, than to grow in question for it and be an occasion perchance of great charge both to the Ports and them, and wished to continue in amity and friendship as they had done heretofore. We answered: That is our desire, and would be sorry of the contrary, and sorry in heart that this great controversy must happen in our time. And with this answer they departed asking us that if it pleased the Bailiffs to send for us if we would come unto them; and we answered we would with all our hearts, and so booted and spurred as we were we caused our horses to be made ready to give more show of our departure.

Eodem die. After dinner they sent again their sergeant unto us to signify that there were matters to be handled at the toll-house at afternoon concerning the Free Fair, where they desired us to be

present. We answered: That is strange they will send for us to that end, knowing that we have neither officers yet allowed us nor place given us to execute our authority; but if they would have us come unto them we would. The messenger departed to deliver them our answer, and we followed immediately after to the toll-house.

At our coming the Bailiffs were gone unto their mount [*sic*], leaving word if we came on to come for them, and to tell us they would come straight unto us. And for that they stayed somewhat long, and we supposing that they did it of purpose to mock us, we went our way, and in the meantime they were come, of which having word we returned again and found the said Bailiffs sitting as the day before, not offering such place as they had promised us, but suffering us stand with our caps in our hands before them. Which Bailiff Lake perceiving, urged their promise and craved their places accordingly, moving much speech thereupon. Whereunto they answered nothing to any purpose, but desired us to come take our places on the Bench, and not to strive for so small a matter as a little cloth. We answered it is not the cloth we strive for, for we confess we have no property nor right of challenge thereunto, but we crave indifferent places with you, which you deny us; if we shall find no cloth here at all we should be contented so as you let us sit before the Bar in the face of the court equivalent with you. And for that you make so small a matter of the place, we must make great account thereof, for that not only ourselves shall suffer disgrace in now, but you will make us also a precedent for ever hereafter to prejudice them, my masters of the Ports I mean, which we will never consent unto. And therefore desiring them to remember what had passed between us and them, and offering them sight thereof observed and drawn by our town clerk, and a copy if they would, for that it should grow in further question as we told them, they offering to take us by the hands we accepted their courtesy and bid them farewell, being loth as it seemed to let us go by their often sending for us. But they were so encouraged towards their seats by the president [precedent] Mr. Haye and Mr. Manwood had left them, taking places at their appointment, rather than they would let us now recover it again they let us go, and so we took horse presently to Lastock [Lowestoft] where we lay that night, all Wednesday, and Thursday in the evening returned again to Yarmouth.

Wednesday and Thursday, secundo et tertio die Octobris, nihil actum.

Friday, Quarto die Octobris 1588. This day in the morning we sent our town clerk unto the Bailiffs of Yarmouth to know when their pleasure was to appoint some time to be at the toll-house, we would come and give them knowledge of our officers. And he meeting with Mr. Peirs, the elder Bailiff, informed him thereof, who answered he would talk with his partner and give us word thereof presently. So we hearing there was a sermon went to Church, and in the meantime there came a message from them to tell us that presently after sermon they would meet us at the toll-house. And

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anon after they came likewise to Church, and seeing us sit in the chancel, where indeed we had taken up our places for certain especial causes, they sent their sergeant unto us to desire us to come take our places with them. We returned thanks and bade him tell them that we were very well there, and had taken that place of purpose for that we would not give any occasion of offence. Sermon ended, we went presently out of the Church to the toll-house accordingly, and having stayed there about iiij quarters of an hour, and they not coming as they promised, we sent our town clerk again to signify our stay there for them, and they returned us this answer, that it was dinner time now and they must have a time to dine, and after dinner they would be there. Now for that they did it as we thought to delay us, or rather to mock us, and we having divers matters to call in question which we could not do without our known officers, and the time being so far spent, we went up to the Bench, calling the jailer to witness where we sat (lest they should say we intruded ourselves), and which was, Bailiff Lake under the lion in the said cloth, and Bailiff Lennard altogether without the cloth, both on the right hand of the Queen's arms; and of ourselves called and chose our officers and caused our town clerk to insert and set down a record thereof in manner following, a copy whereof we determined to send unto them of our proceedings, viz. :—

Memorandum that this instant iiijth day of October 1588, before the worshipful Mr. Thomas Lake of the town and port of Hastings, Jurat, and Mr. Henry Lennarde of the town and port of Dover, Jurat, Bailiffs of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, Commissioners to the Town of Great Yarmouth this year for the time of the Free Fair, there were elected and chosen by them their officers following, viz. : *Ricardus Tracham pro vexillo regni portando. Jacobus Gilmer ad cornu cornutendum pro gente congreganda et pro meliori auditu faciundo et habendo. Arthurus Doffell et Thomas Fyneas duo servientes ad virgas portandas pro pace ibidem custodienda.*

Which done we departed thence to our hosts to dinner, with our officers in such order as hath been used, shewing our authority and their admittance, and being but newly set at dinner the said Bailiffs sent their sergeant to signify unto us they were come unto the toll-house, tarried for us and desired us come unto them. We bade him certify them we were at dinner as himself could witness, and after dinner would presently repair thither, which we did accordingly, where we found the said Bailiffs accompanied with divers of the aldermen. We went directly to the Bench, and they friendly bade us welcome, and there finding but such room as they had granted unto us before, we sat us down, Bailiff Lake declaring what we had proceeded unto without them, and the cause, and offering them copy and sight thereof, thereby to take knowledge of our officers. They seemed somewhat discontented therewith, and said we ought not to have done it without them, and that they would not allow them in that sort. We answered them we were

sure they doubted not but that we might do many things without them, and for that they use us so hardly; look, said we, what we may do by authority of the edict, we will execute it fully to effect, you cannot deny our admittance, and being admitted there is no question but we may choose our own officers, you are to take knowledge of them which we offer, you cannot deny or refuse them. Then they requested us without any further proceeding to give them a day until the next morning to be advised what might be done therein lest our precedent might prejudice their customary record aforesaid. We answered again, their request was dilatory, and that to have day to advise were to no purpose, for, said Bailiff Lake, we have done it, and if otherwise than we ought to do we must answer it. And the question is not now whether we have infringed your customary record by it, but whether we may do it by the edict yea or no, and if we have no warrant there for it we have done you wrong, but you cannot right it of yourselves, but it must and shall grow in further question when it shall better be determined, and therefore let us proceed now. And so after much speech, in the end they prayed yet for order sake, since they could not cause us to reverse and alter it, that our officers might be called again by the same record we had taken, which being done they accepted and confirmed the same without further question. Afterwards, the place being silent, Bailiff Lake moved this speech unto the younger Bailiff: Sir, saith he, you promised us, both at our first coming and at divers times since, that we should have such places as any our predecessors have had, and that you have not performed the same shall appear by divers books of late years related by the Brotherhood House of their sitting. And so caused to be read the points in Mr. Woode's book of Sandwich and Mr. Fynettes of Dover and others, where in truth are notable precedents for the controversy of the place and the description thereof, and how it was concluded upon by their own consents *ut pateat*, which being read they denied some and granted other some, and said it was done of consent. Well then, said Bailiff Lake, we shew you not this to enforce any reformation here, but that you may see thereby you are not so good as your words, but pray, saith he, let us have no more speech touching the place, the time passeth away, you will have us sit here, and therefore it is done. And so demanded sight of the prisoners. And they desired us to stay until Monday, for their steward was not at home to keep any record thereof. Then we craved bond of the jailer as had been accustomed, which they denied us. Then we desired them that they would give us their words for such prisoners as they had received since the beginning of the Fair until Monday we had charge of the gaol, which they accorded unto, and concluded to have the first court on Monday next, being the vijth of October, and that warrant should go out for the appearance of the inquest under our hands and seals directed unto Arthur Doffell, Sergeant at the Rod, *ut per eundem patent in forma sequente, viz. :-*

Magna Yarmowth. Thomas Lake et Henricus Lennarde, Ballivi Baronum quinque portuum domine nostre Regine Elizabethę nunc etc.

Ad curiam dicte domine regine tenendam regalemque justitiam in dicta villa Magna Jermowth exequendam tempore nundinarum sive libere Ferie ibidem, Arthuro Doffell uni servientium dictorum Ballivorum ad virgam portandum pro pace dicte domine regine in villa predicta salutem. Tibi precipimus quod venire facias coram nobis et ballivis dicte ville de Jermowth in le Tollhouse ibidem die Lune proximo futuro xij probos et legales homines de inhabitantibus quinque portuum predictorum, ad inquirendum simul cum aliquis probis hominibus inhabitantibus dicte ville Magne Jermowth, si tunc et ibidem adesse voluerit de et super quibusdam articulis pacem domine regine et Libere Ferie modo apud dictam villam de Jermowth tenta concernentibus et tangentibus. Et quod habeas ad tunc et ibidem hoc preceptum unicum retornatum. Et hoc etc. Datum sub sigillis nostris quarto die Octobris Anno Regni domine nostre Elizabethe dei gratia Anglie Frauncie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris, etc., tricesimo 1588.

Saturday, Quinto die Octobris 1588. This day being market day we went into the market and took view of the bakers' bread and set down their names in several markets, and so proceeding farther we met with the jailer of the town and demanded of him who was clerk of the market; he answered the Bailiffs of Yarmouth. We demanded then who was the clerk appointed under them; he answered he was; then, quoth Bailiff Lake, we discharge you for this time, for that we are now to have rule and government thereof as well as they, unless you be appointed and authorized likewise by us thereunto. He answered nothing, but he would inform the Bailiffs of Yarmouth thereof. Afterwards we met with the said Bailiffs and they began very angrily to reprove us for intermeddling so far in the market, saying we were too busy, and that we had nothing to do in the market, but, said they, for that there is no place here to talk of such matters, we desire you, said they, to be at the toll-house in the afternoon to confer thereupon. And so after dinner they sent for us accordingly unto their toll-house, and we went thither, where was much speech moved thereupon, but in the end it was thus concluded by them, that we had no authority to displace their officers nor anything to do ourselves in the market, and that they were sole clerks of the market, and that we were only Bailiffs with them for the Fair. Then, saith Bailiff Lake, your meaning is belike that having ij market days here weekly, and in the term of the Fair, they are exempt and not included within the meaning of the Free Fair, and you have sole authority there without us. They answered both, they had. Then, quoth Bailiff Lake, so we are but ij persons with a few in our company we can but demand it, and if you deny it we dare not make any further challenging of our right lest we lose our heads. But pray, saith he, let it be set down in record what you deny us, that coming in question you may answer it without denying it where this controversy will be soon decided; but, saith he, if we have nothing to do in the market there with like reason we have nothing to do in the Fair, for every day may be a market day. If the country will

come in you will not deny them; and then, why hath the edict and the proclamation such special words for assize of bread and beer, weights and measures, ordinances for ringing of a bell, etc.? But what you will must be, saith he, for this time without any further matters handled.

Sunday, Sexto die Octobris 1588. This day being Sunday we went to sermon, and going towards the chancel door there were certain of the aldermen going towards the other door who perceiving our intent to withdraw ourselves from sitting with them desired us very earnestly to come take our accustomed places with them. We answered we were loth to give occasion of offence to any, when said they, we hope nobody will be offended thereat, but, said Bailiff Lake, I am loth the like discourtesy should be offered me again in pulling me back by the gown going out of the Church. And so for all their entreaty went forwards and took our places near the pulpit, where we found an ancient man who very courteously gave us room, and would have avoided the seat but that we bade him sit still, where he sat at the farther end thereof, if he would. But sermon ended we went out of the Church, where we found our men on horseback with their instruments ready in the accustomed manner to make proclamation. We took our rooms next unto our officers, and anon after came the Bailiffs of Yarmouth and intruded themselves between our officers' arms and us on the upper hand. Then said Bailiff Lake: My masters, methinks you do us great wrong; we are proclaimers of the proclamation and not you, where you need not come unless you will, and we bring our officers and ornaments with us for that purpose. We must proclaim, we are tied unto it, and you to suffer it. The younger Bailiff hearing those words of himself went on the other hand beneath us both, and Bailiff Lake took his former place again, and then the elder Bailiff would have stood between us. But Bailiff Lennarde said that they had a joint commission, and of like authority, and came together, and therefore ought not to be parted; then they and the aldermen there present seeing that, especially Mr. Customer and one Mr. Drewrye, spoke unto the Bailiffs of Yarmouth and said that they did them wrong speaking of themselves and also themselves discredit, and willed them take their places as of yore, which they did. So as they both stood between our arms and our officers on the right hand of us, perceiving this their obstinacy and hard dealing towards us, we willed our officers to put up their instruments and depart since we were in such sort disturbed. The said Mr. Drewrye answered if they did they would proclaim the proclamation themselves; we answered we doubted of that, and so after much speech at last we bid our officers to come somewhat on the other hand of us to shew our authority somewhat more than theirs. We proclaimed there our proclamation, and at other the accustomed places, viz., the Church-gate, the market cross, the haven's mouth, the Crane, and the Bridge Foot. *Et eodem die porro nihil.*

Monday. Magna Jermowth. Curia prima domine Regine ibidem tenta die Lune, viz., septimo die Octobris Anno regni domine nostre

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Elizabethe dei gratia Anglie Frauncie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris, etc., tricesimo, tempore Libere Ferie sive Nundinarum ibidem, coram Thoma Lake et Henrico Lennarde Juratoribus Ballivis Baronum quinque portuum, etc., pro tempore predicto Augustino Peirs et Benedicto Cubitt mercatoribus Ballivis dicte domine Regine Burgi et Libere Ferie ville de Jermowth predictæ.

Nomina Juratorum ad inquirendum pro Domina Regina.

Yarmouth.	JOHANNES SMITHE	} <i>jurantur.</i>
Ports.	JOHANNES GORHAM	
Y.	WALTER BARWICKE	
P.	JOHANNES NEWTON	
Y.	JOHANNES EASTE	
P.	WILLELMUS GEERE	
Y.	WILLELMUS GOSE	
P.	STEPHANUS FRENCHMAN	
Y.	RICARDUS MAYNE	
P.	WILLELMUS MICHELL	
Y.	HENRICUS EBOTTES	}
P.	EZEKIELL KINGSTONE	

Accio nulla.

Juratores habent diem ad retornandum veredictum suum quantum sit in diem Veneris, viz., in xj^m diem instantis Octobris infra horas primam et tertiam post meridiem ejusdem diei, et curia predicta adjornatur in eundem diem.

Eodem die. View of the prisoners.

Johannes Nevens	} taken upon suspicion of felony.
Thomas Collens	
Henry Johnson	
George Auferon	

Four other Spaniards there committed by order from the Queen's ships.

Thomas Fareborne committed to prison for breaking the peace upon one Margaret Davison in sermon time, and Margaret Davison committed likewise for her evil behaviour towards the said Thomas.

This day also we gave sundry passports to divers poor people who came hither on Herring Fair and other business, and could not be set awork, craved our passport to depart.

Tuesday, Magna Jermowth, Octavo die Octobris ac Regni domine nostre Elizabethe nunc Regine, etc., xxx^{mo}, coram Thoma Lake et Henrico Lennarde Ballivis Baronum quinque portuum, Augustino Peirs et Benedicto Cubitt Ballivis ville sive burgi Magne Jermowth predictæ.

The same day one Roger Lusie of Ipswich, damye weaver, came before us and complained that Thomas Esarde of Yarmouth had taken in kept and detained his apprentice Stephen Ingram almost

these ij years contrary to the statute, and craved to have him delivered to him again. And afterwards sending for the said parties, and examining them upon the premises, finding it so indeed, caused him forthwith to be delivered unto his said master again accordingly.

Eodem die Thomas Fareborne, committed to prison as aforesaid for breaking of the peace, was released of his imprisonment and enjoined to depart the town with his wife and child by xstmas next coming.

Ac etiam eodem die Margaret Davison was also released of her imprisonment, and bound by recognizance in x^h to depart the town by Friday next.

The same day also Robert Whyte and Thomas Browne, committed to prison for breaking the peace upon each other and making an affray, were fined at iij^s iij^d apiece, and so released, paying the officers' duties, viz., viij^d apiece, whereof one moiety was to the Jailer for the Ports and the other to the Bailiffs for the town as is accustomed.

Nono die Octobris coram Ballivis supradictis. Came one Robert Lucas of Yarmouth, sailor, and took his corporal oath for the peace against one William Reade of the same town, sailor, whereupon it is concluded that a warrant should be awarded forth in form following for the attaching of the said William Reade to put a bond with sureties for the same, upon whose appearance afterwards, being a very poor man, there was means found to make them friends, and so was released.

Magna Jermouth. Thomas Lake and Henry Lennarde, Bailiffs of the Barons of the Cinque Ports commissionate this year to the town of Great Yarmouth during the time of the Free Fair there, Austen Peirs and Bennet Cubitt, Bailiffs of the town and borough of Great Yarmouth aforesaid, unto Arthur Doffell, Sergeant at the White Rod, and Thomas Argoll, Sergeant at the Mace, our sergeants for this purpose appointed, and to every of them greeting. We charge and command you and either of you that you or one of you in the Queen's Majesty's name do attach or cause to be attached William Read and him safely do keep, so as you or one of you have his body at the next court of our sovereign lady the Queen, or immediately upon the attaching of the said William here before us in the toll-house of the said town or elsewhere, etc. To put in sufficient bond with sureties unto the use of our said sovereign lady the Queen, for the peace against our said sovereign lady the Queen and all her liege people, and especially against Robert Lucas of this town, sailor, complainant against the said William, and hath taken his corporal oath against him in that behalf. Fail you not hereof as you will answer for the contrary at your perils. And have you then and there this our precept given under our several seals this ixth of October the xxxth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, etc., 1588.

By all the Queen's Majesty's Bailiffs above said, unto their sergeants aforesaid, and to every of them.

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Thursday, Decimo die Octobris, 1588, coram Ballivis predictis. The same day Richard Carvill and William Each, taken the night before for making an affray and committed to bail for their forthcoming this morning, were fined at iijs iiij^d apiece for the same, and the same Richard Carvell who began the quarrel enjoined to put in bond for his good behaviour during this Free Fair *in forma sequente*, and so paying his fees as abovesaid was released.

Memorandum quod x^{mo} die Octobris Anno supradicto coram prefatis Ballivis domine nostre Regine venit Ricardus Carvell de Norwich, singleman, et recognovit se debere dicte nomine nostre Regine decem libras sterlingorum solvendas, etc., et nisi, etc.

Conditio istius recognicionis talis est quod si prenominatus Ricardus Carvill bene se gerat erga dictam dominam Reginam et cunctum populum sub durante tempore totius Libere Ferie sive nundinarum apud villam Magnam Jermouth tunc, etc.

Eodem die Walter Johnson, servant unto Gills Idle of Hythe, sailor, committed to prison for his ill behaviour towards his said master, was now upon his submission unto his said master released, and his own bond taken unto the use of our sovereign lady the Queen in x^l levair [*sic*], etc., nisi, etc., upon condition he should serve his said master well and truly during this voyage of Herring Fair, and in the meantime to be of good behaviour towards his said master and all other the liege people of our said sovereign lady the Queen.

The same day John Quashe of Yarmouth, Innholder, being complained on for ill rule in his house at unaccustomed and unlawful hours, was bound anew for his victualling and better rule in his house *in verbis usitatis*, etc., to be kept hereafter during the time of the Free Fair.

The same day also Thomas Dowell and Thomas Mathue, committed to prison for making an affray, were fined iijs iiij^d apiece and undertook each for other in x^l *in forma supradicta* to be of good behaviour during this Free Fair, and so paying their fees as aforesaid were released.

Eodem die Nicholus Tanner *pro consimili* fined at iijs iiij^d *solvit fine et exoneratur*.

The same day also John Woodgreene of Dover and his company, having complained that a man of Yarmouth and his company had misused them both at the sea and in the harbour, both companies being sent for, repaired at large before us, and being found in the end that there was injury done and harm received on both parties, the Yarmouth men being found beginners thereof, and had done most wrong unto the men of Dover, were content to give the said Woodgreene and his company a barrel of beer in recompense, and so were made friends.

Eodem decimo die Octobris 1588. The same day was brought before us a very poor old man of the country who had been committed to prison without our knowledge, and there lay from Wednesday until Thursday noons, by the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, as it seemed, who had undertaken and challenged as aforesaid to be

sole clerks of the market themselves, for regrating and forestalling in the market of certain corn, as was supposed, and no such matter proved nor found against him upon examination before us, was by us set at liberty. Bailiff Lake using these words in the open court: Go thy way Father, saith he, whosoever hath committed thee to prison hath done thee wrong, and if thou shouldst bring an action of wrongful imprisonment against him he could not answer it. At which words the Bailiffs of Yarmouth were somewhat offended, as it seemed by their speeches thereof afterwards, complaining of our discourtesy in that behalf.

Further the same day Thomas Dowell aforesaid complained unto us that he had lost his purse in the jail last night, whereupon the jailers were called up, and by the good means of Bailiff Lake treating them and shewing them the rigour of the law if they denied it, and favour to be shewed them if they confessed it, it was found among them and restored to him again.

The same day also John Arnold of Donnage [Dunwich], sailor, convicted of speaking lewd and irreverent words against us, by the oath of him that informed us thereof, was by us committed unto prison, there to remain.

Magna Jermouth, Friday. Curia secunda domine Regine ibidem tenta xj die Octobris [etc., form as before].

Eodem die sedente curia coram Ballivis predictis.

The same day was brought before us the said John Arnold, and for that the matter concerned ourselves we left him over to the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, who upon examining of the matter would have presently put him into their house of small ease, as they termed it, a very uneasy and cruel prison, but that we of pity towards the poor fellow upon his submission, confessing the speeches and saying, as indeed it was testified by the rest of his company, that he was not in very good temper at that time, and that we could not perceive it to be of malice towards us, for that as he said he never saw us, we desired to have him released from any further punishment, but to have him bound in recognizance, and the master of the boat with him wherein he went, for his good behaviour, *in forma sequente*. [Form as before.]

Eodem die. Afterwards the same day, *sedente curia*, Bailiff Lake began to use this speech unto the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, Mr. Eacher their learned counsel, and other there present: It is complained unto us, saith he, by the havenman of the town that our men of the Ports refuse to pay certain fine money. I would fain know whether by your last composition with us we are not free of the same; they answered we were not. Then we caused the ij latter articles thereof to be read, and then demanded wherefore they had deducted out of the vij li we should receive of them yearly for toll and custom 1^s [50^s], if not only in lieu and discharge thereof, as also the words themselves imported. Tush, said they, there was no such matter meant; will you be freer than ourselves? We pay it. And so began to wrest the meaning of the composition, and in conclusion said that they remembered well the like question had been

moved heretofore, and that then it was consented unto to be paid by our Bailiffs that then were, but they could not name them. But said Bailiff Lake, whatsoever they did I am sure our and their commission was all one, and that the liberties and free customs of the Ports are always saved and reserved therein, and so having no authority to do it you can make no precedent of it. But, said he, I will not wish any of our men to pay it, and if your havenman will needs have it under you, and challenge it in your right, let him distrain for it if he thinks good, and so with other speeches for that time they departed.

Saturday, duodecimo die Octobris, nihil actum.

Sunday, decimotertio die Octobris 1588. This day we made our proclamation, being Sunday, at the usual places in manner as is before described.

Magna Jermowth. Curia tertia domine nostre Regine ibidem tenta xiiij^{to} die Octobris [etc., form as before].

Aquarius Ballivus.

Thomas Ludd senior querit versus Thomas^m Browne in propria persona in placito transgressionis super casum plegii de proseguendo, etc. Le xiiij^{to} die Octobris querens per attornatum suum comparuit, et defendens in propria persona sua etiam comparuit, et querens ministravit causam accionis, et postea scilicet in eadem curia discontinuatur hæc accio inter partes predictos per concordiam.

Veredictum Juratorum sive presentacio duodecim pro domina Regina.

Imprimis we present Mr. Gleme of Norwich for annoying of the quay with his barque or ship called the Mathue.

Item we present Mr. Paynett for annoying the quay with his ship called the Gift of God.

Item we present Tytus Harris for the like with his new boat.

Item we present Thomas Paynett for drawing of blood the vijth of October last past and striking with his fist one Cooke of Colchester, master of a ketch.

Item we present the same Cooke for the like against the said Thomas Paynett.

Item we present Thomas Dowell of Newhaven for making an affray with Nicholas Tanner of Birchempsteade the jxth of October with his fist.

Item we present Nicholas Tanner for the like upon Thomas Dowell the same day and time.

Item we present Charles Starne of Chichester for the like affray making among those persons.

Qui tres relaxantur ut antea.

Item we present John Bakesse for affray making with Henry Tydiman at the sea.

Item we present Henry Tydiman for the like with John Bakesse at the sea.

Item we present John Earle of Rye for denying to pay to the Fair ij^d called fine pence.

Which their presentment seen and read B. Lake told the jury that he thought they had scarcely performed their duty and discharged their oath if they could find no other matters to present than those, for, saith he, I am sure it is especially matter of your charge to see the den and stran cleared and avoided, and that nothing be coming there either to the incumbrance or annoyance of the same. And you may see horses and kine and other cattle there, the place so full as a man can no sooner lay his nets abroad but they are among them ready to tear them with their feet, as I was not only informed of, saith he, but myself have seen it, with other things belonging to your charge. I wish you to look unto it, or else you are like to answer it where you would be loth. Which they answered with many troublesome speeches at the first, but in the end concluded that they were not yet discharged, and if in any matter committed since the Fair presentments were found they might present them yet. Bailiff Lake answered again they might do so, and they should have to that end a new day given, for he would not accept of their former verdict. Then said Mr. Eacher, the jury can go no farther than the articles of their charge, and the words of that article is as I remember, saith he, the stran and den to be avoided of fenestrag and stallage, and caused the said to be read in the roll of articles they had delivered unto the jury, and it was found so indeed, and defined the meaning thereof. Now, saith Bailiff Lake, it is apparent how you delude us contrary to the true meaning of the dyte; it is said there indeed that nothing shall be taken for fenestrag nor stallage in the town of Great Yarmouth during the time of the Free Fair, but not in that place nor meant upon the stran and den, but the words of that article should be by the dyte of purprestures and avoidances in stran and den, etc. But since you deal thus with us, in that you have used to give the charge, we will have the charge given henceforth out of the dite: and so willed our jurymen and theirs to peruse the dyte itself, shewing them the place, and charged them to have especial regard thereof.

The same day also there grew some question between us and them for that they had by their Water Bailiff arrested the foresaid Thomas Browne in the haven without our knowledge, being for a matter growing in the Free Fair, and so within our jurisdiction; they answered likewise that neither our nor their sergeants had anything to do upon the water, and it belonged only to the Water Bailiff of the town. I admit, saith Bailiff Lake, it were not within the liberty of our sergeants, which I doubt being in the haven at a low water mark, yet it were reason we were made acquainted with it.

Et sic postea curia predicta adjournatur usque in diem Jovis scilicet xvi^o die instantis mensis Octobris proximo futuro. Et Juratores predicti habent eundem diem ad rendendum ulterius veredictum suum.

Tuesday decimo quinto die Octobris 1588. This day we had the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, the preacher, and divers others of that town to dine with us.

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Wednesday decimo sexto die Octobris 1588. The same day there was nothing done worth the writing of record.

Thursday decimo septimo die Octobris 1588. *Memorandum* that this day we gave price unto John Forde of Colchester to sell his oysters *pro rata* iij^d le pack [peck], and caused a ticket contained the price and our admittance and allowance of him to be set up on the mast of his boat with our names thereunto.

Magna Jermowth. Curia quarta domine nostre Regine ibidem tenendum xvij die Octobris [etc., form as before].

Accio nulla.

At which court the jury appeared, and for that Bailiff Piers, the elder Bailiff, was not there nor could be found, we refused to take their verdict, and therefore we reiorined [adjourned] them over again until next day one of the clock in the afternoon.

Friday. Magna Jermowth. Curia quinta domine nostre Regine ibidem tenta xvij^{vo} die Octobris [etc., form as before].

Accio nulla.

At which court the jury appeared, and being demanded if they were agreed upon any more presentments, they answered no. Whereupon Bailiff Lake, perceiving as he thought they did it rather of purpose, and were agreed to spite him thereby, for that he had threatened them so upon their last presentment, told them that it seemed they had small care of their charge, and less regard of their conscience, seeing, or that they might see at least, such continual recourse of cattle upon the stran and den, with a number of other abuses within the compass of their charge and well known unto them, but yet they would not present them. But, saith he, seeing you deal thus obstinately with us, and will see and present but what you list, if the Bailiffs of Yarmouth will agree and consent with us herein we would bind you over to appear in the Star Chamber to answer that you contemplate. Whereunto Mr. Eacher, their learned counsel, answered that they knew no such cause to consent unto any such matter; then said Bailiff Lake, I can but crave their assistance therein, if they deny it me let them answer me so themselves and I am satisfied; they told us then plainly they neither saw cause for it nor would agree unto it.

Afterwards, *sedente curia*, we told them we intended on Monday morning next, God willing, to take our leave of them, and therefore demanded view of the prisoners again, which were the same prisoners onlyaforenamed. And for that there were divers made means unto us for the enlarging of one of them, for that he for whose cause he was apprehended and imprisoned would lay nothing to his charge, as he said, it was our motion therefore that he might be acquitted by proclamation in open court now upon the delivering of the jail. Whereunto Mr. Eacher answered that we had nothing to do to deliver any prisoners; we might apprehend fellows, but neither punish nor discharge any. I am to take no such answer from you, Mr. Eacher, said Bailiff Lake, but if the Bailiffs of Yarmouth will

answer me so, let it be recorded and set down what you deny us, and we shall be content. Then quoth the Bailiffs both of Yarmouth: Mr. Eacher is our learned counsel and our mouth, and look what he hath said, herein the same say we also.

Et sic Juratores postea exonerantur in nova sumonicione, et curia predicta adjornatur in proximo die ad horam tertiam ejusdem die post meridiem.

Magna Jermowth. Curia domine nostre Regine sexta ibidem tenta xix^o die Octobris [etc., form as before].

One Peter Scarborowth, committed to prison for abusing the watch, was upon his submission discharged and enjoined to depart the town presently.

Sunday, Vicesimo die Octobris 1588. This day we made our proclamation in like manner as before.

Eodem die also we received our fee of iiij^l x^s according to the last composition due unto us.

Finis.

OTHAM RECTORS.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

IN tracing out the succession of Rectors of Otham, the earliest name we have been able to discover is in the "Sede Vacante" Records at Canterbury, when, in the interval between the death of Archbishop Peckham and the appointment of Archbishop Winchelsey, the duty of Institution lay with the Prior of Christ Church, the energetic Henry de Estria, and in 1293 RADULPHUS DE MALLING was presented to him for the vacant Rectory by Robertus de Valoignes.* The next name is that of RICARDUS DE SANDWICO (SANDWICH) by the same patron in 1315.† Three years after, the Rectory becoming vacant, Robert de Valoignes appoints a member of his own family, HAIMO DE VALOIGNES;‡ and again, in 1322, appears the name of GULLIELMUS DE LA LEGH.§ Four years after an exchange was effected between him and ROBERTUS DE HEMINGBURGH, from Pirton in Worcestershire. He seems to have held the Otham Rectory some five and twenty years, for no appointment appears to have taken place again till 1349, when, there being a vacancy in the See of Canterbury on the death of Archbishop Bradwardine, Prior Richard de Oxenden, Estria's successor, instituted THOMAS DE WOTTON, on the presentation of Sir Thomas de Aldon (*alias* Aldelyn) of Crundall,|| to whom the Advowson had come through his marriage with Matilda, daughter and heiress of Waresius de Valoignes. In 1355 Sir Thomas Aldon presented ROGER DE ARDELE;¶ then, in 1374, when Robert Hathbrand was Prior, during the interval between Archbishops Whittelsey and Simon de Sudbury, he presented ROBERT FYNHCOTE to the vacant Rectory.**

In 1385 Sir Thomas Aldon's widow Matilda presented GUYDO

* Cant. MSS., Q., fo. 21.

† Archbishop Reynold's Register, fo. 16.

* *Ibid.*, fo. 23^b.

§ *Ibid.*, fo. 30^b.

|| Cant. MSS., I., fo. 18.

¶ Archbishop Islip's Register, fo. 269^a.

** Cant. Chapt. MSS., G., fo. 171.

HERFELD,* who retained it till 1413, when, on his death, the Manor and with it the Advowson, having passed into the hands of the Pympe family, John Pympe, Esq., of Pympe Hall, Farleigh, presented JOHANNES LAYBORNE, a member of a neighbouring family. The next appointment was in 1435, when JOHANNES KNOLLYS ‡ (or KNOLLES) was presented by the same patron, who again, in 1441, on Knollys' death, presented WILLIELMUS KENE § (not Keme, as Hasted gives it), whose name occurs in the will of William Colyn|| as one of the witnesses, and again two years after in that of Robert Betynhem¶ as "*olim* Rector." After him occurs the name of JOHANNES RAMSEY, but no date or mention of his appointment, only of that of THOMAS DANYEL on Ramsey's death in 1501,** when the right of presentation was exercised by the widow of John Pimp, as was also the case twenty years after, in 1525, when she presented LUDOVICUS (LOUIS) AP RES on Danyel's resignation.†† His successor was THOMAS CAYLEY apparently,‡‡ according to the Church Register of an Otham family, but no date of his appointment appears either at Canterbury or Lambeth. The Parish Church Register records his burial in 1567, when PETER HENDLE (or HENDLEY as it is afterwards written) was appointed by his relation Thomas Hendle, to whom the Manor and Advowson had passed by the grant of the Crown.§§ Among the many signs of the Reformation which were now becoming apparent, the Baptismal Register shews that both Cayley and Hendley had been released from obligatory celibacy. Between the years 1585 and 1590 are several entries of the baptisms of children of "Thomas Crompe, Clerk," while that of "Peter Hendle, Parson" also appears. Was Crompe Curate?

The next name on the list is that of one who in many ways left his mark in the parish. In the Register at Lambeth||| it is written JOHN BROME, S.T.P. So it is originally in the Church Register in all the earlier entries; but a second "o" appears in a later hand, and in the course of time he signs himself BROOME. To him the

* Archbishop Courtenay's Register, fo. 258.

‡ Archbishop Chichele's Register, fo. 206.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, vol. iii. fo. 25.

¶ *Ibid.*

** Archbishop Warham's Register, fo. 323. In his will (Archdeacon's Court, Cant., vol. xvii., fo. 2) he expresses a wish to be "buried in the Chancell of Otham Church," and bequeaths to it "one surplice and a mattens Robe," and to his neighbour Parson at Langley "a Sarsenett Typpet, my best Cappe, a shirt, & a portusse (a breviary)."

†† Archbishop Warham's Register, fo. 384.

‡‡ In the "Hendle MSS." mention is made under date 1547 of " (Sir) Thomas Bayley, Parson of Otham," probably a mistake for Thomas Cayley.

§§ Archbishop Parker's Register, fo. 380^b.

||| Archbishop Whitgift's Register, fo. 335.

parish is indebted for the earliest Register now extant there. Henry VIII. had, at the persuasion of Thomas (afterwards Lord) Cromwell in 1538, issued an order that every parish should possess a Register Book, into which should be made the entry of every baptism, marriage, and burial solemnized in the Church. Prior to that time, apparently, no system of registering these domestic events had existed, and if any record at all was made it was on waste paper books or loose scraps of paper. Now they were to be duly and carefully entered in a book supplied by each parish for that purpose, and a chest also provided for keeping this book. However, this system would seem to have been very imperfectly carried out; and to insure greater care, Elizabeth, in the "Constitutions" of 1597, required that in future such books should be of parchment, not of paper, and the entries methodically made. Happily at this time the Clergy began to realize the importance of carrying out this plan, and in very many parishes set themselves to collect and transcribe all previously existing records into such parchment books.* To the zeal and industry of this new Rector, John Broome, Otham is indebted for having an admirable Church Register, not only from the date of his own appointment, but going back to the earlier date of Henry VIII.'s Injunction of 1538. He duly recorded on the fly-leaf of the oldest extant Register that he had strictly complied with the Canon, and had copied out, and given a permanent form to, *all* the entries he could collect for the preceding sixty years, which he carried on till his death, and hoped to secure its perpetuity by the following entry:—

"The Register booke of the Parish Church of Ottham in the Countie of Kent, according to the Canon in that behalfe published in the fortieth yere of the most happie reigne of our most gracious Sovereaigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the excellent grace of God Queen of England, ffrance, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the yere of our Lord and onely Saviour Jesus Christ 1598. Thus written out by me, John Broome, Bachelaur of Divinitie, and Parson of the said Otham.

"OBSERVATIONS.

"1. In the lower end of everie page, or syde of a leafe, a convenient space must be left, wherein the names of the Minister, Churchwardens, and Sydesmen are to bee subscribed.

* Extract from the Clause "De Registris in Ecclesiis (Constitutiones Ecclesiasticæ, Anno 1597)":—"Uti libri ad hunc usum destinati, quo tutius reservari et ad posteritatis memoriam propagari possint, ex pergamento . . . conficiantur: iisque . . . ex veteribus libris cartaceis transcripta sint."

"2. Everie yere Certificate must bee made of all Baptismes, Mariadges, and Buryalls wh. shall happen to bee in the said Parish, from Easter to Easter, or from the Annunt'ian to the Annunt'ian, to the ArchD'n, & from Mich. to Mich. to the Commissarie.

"3. This booke must bee kept in a Chest with three locks and three keyes by the Officers above named."

John Broome seems to have more than followed the example of Cayley and Peter Hendley, for having lost his first wife Priscilla in August 1612, on the 24th of the following November he married Mary Delahay, probably one of his own parishioners, the daughter of Katherine Delahay, whose burial is entered by Broome on February 11, 1620, as the "widow of Neville Delahay, sometyne of Wateringbury, Esq., having many yeares before given all her goods by guift (*sic*) to her children."

The vacancy in the Otham Parsonage caused by the death of John Broome brought the little quiet Kentish village within the vortex of the political maelstrom which was at the time sweeping over the country at the end of 1605 and the beginning of the following year. In the height of the panic which the discovery of the "Gunpowder Plot" had caused, the House of Commons on January 21 resolved that a Committee be formed "To consider of some course for the timely and severe proceeding against Jesuits, Seminaries, and all other Popish Agents and Practisers, and for the Preventing and Suppressing their Plots and Practices."

The rapid development of this alarm is well depicted in the Journals, for extracts from which the writer is indebted to the kindness of L. Helbert, Esq., of the Library of the House of Commons.

"January 21, 1605-6.

"Sir George Moore (M.P. for Guildford) maketh a Motion out of a sense of the late Conspiracy, the like whereof never came upon the Stage of the world. No hour too soon for such a Motion. Encouragement to Papists. (*Homines qui ex fraude, fallacia, mendiciis, consistere videbantur. Tantumne Religio potuit movisse malorum?*)"

Sir Francis Hastings, M.P. for Somerset, followed :

"3 Duties : to God, to the King, to God & ourselves. Offered to Consideration, four (points) : The Plot, the Carriage of the Plot, the Discovery, and the Deliverance. Plot, Popish, dangerous and desperate."

Mr. Solicitor (Sir Thomas Fleminge, M.P. for Southampton) :

"A word in time like Apples of gold furnished with Pictures of Silver."

Then followed the Motion to form a Committee.

The immediate result was the passing of an Act (3 James I., cap. 5) by which it was enacted (Clause xviii) "that all recusants shall be utterly disabled from and after the end of this present Parliament to present to any benefice, with cure or without cure, etc.;" and then Clause xix enacts that "the Chancellor and Scholars of the University of Oxford so often as any of them shall be void shall have the presentation, etc., of & to every such benefice (in some twenty-five specified counties, of which Kent was one*) as shall happen to be void during such time, as the patron thereof shall be and remain a Recusant convict as aforesaid." The inference, then, is that the Hendleys, in whom the patronage had for some years lain, were either recusants or suspects. For the next presentation was made by the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, and they chose for the vacant Parsonage WILLIAM HYDE, M.A., of Exeter College, whose selection also marks an era in the history of Oxford. The preceding year had seen him nominated by the body of the University Masters, in whom the right then lay, to the important office of Proctor.† Hyde had entered on his duties in April 1628; but by the following June a new "Constitution" had been imposed on them by the King, transferring the nomination from the general body of the Masters of Arts to those of each particular College, from which, according to a Cycle then prepared, the election was to be made. It is probable that the University, to compensate him for the loss of the coveted appointment, conferred on him the first piece of Church patronage which fell to them. And so he became Rector of Otham in 1628.‡

The vacancy caused by the death of William Hyde was filled by the appointment of THOMAS WILSON, M.A., § a man of considerable learning and force of character, but of very strong Presbyterian tendencies. His appointment to Otham was effected by an influential Jurat of Maidstone, who purchased the Advowson for the express purpose of placing there a man whose preaching

* It was arranged that all the southern counties of England should be assigned to Oxford and the northern ones to Cambridge, a division which holds good to the present day in the case of all benefices in the hands of Romanist patrons.

† A. A. Wood's *Hist. University of Oxon*, p. 435; Boase's *Registrum Exoniense*, p. 63.

‡ Archbishop Abbot's Register, fo. 245.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., fo. 193.

accorded with his own views, and where he and his fellow-townsmen of Maidstone "might go with little trouble or travail to hear the Word of God."* Some years after Swinnocke was able to introduce him to Maidstone itself as Curate. But it was in connection with Otham that Wilson attained to some public celebrity. The introduction of *The Book of Sports* and the order that it should be proclaimed in all Churches was the stumbling block in Wilson's course at Otham. He had here a sympathizing parishioner of some position, Henry Tooke,† a medical man, who made common cause with him. Their obduracy came to the notice of the High Commissioner, and three times in the course of 1635 and 1636 they were both summoned to appear before the Court, but refused. The charge against Wilson was that "divers of the (Maidstone) Parishioners, being schismatically affected, had in great troops left the Parish Church, and gone from thence to Otham to hear him preach and expound." He was first "monished," and then as "an inconformable Minister" suspended.‡ This led to a memorable scene in the House of Commons: Sir Edward Dering, who was at the time one of the Knights of the Shire for Kent, presented a Petition from Wilson to the House, complaining that he had been suspended and was being "persecuted by a Pursuivant." Sir Edward said he had personally appealed to the Archbishop, undertaking that Wilson should appear in any of the King's Courts to answer his accusers; but Laud had refused to shew any clemency, and had treated him with a sneer—"I am sure he will not absent himself a twelvemonth together, and I doubt not but once in a year we shall have him."§ Smarting under the recollection of his scornful reception at Lambeth Palace, Dering exclaimed, "I hope, by the help of this House, before this year of threatening be run out, his Grace will either have more grace or no grace at all"—an anathema of sad fulfilment, for not long after the Archbishop's head was brought to the block. Bearing testimony on the other hand to Wilson's worth, Dering described him as "orthodox in doctrine and laborious in preaching as any we have, and of unblemished life."|| Such was the spirit in which Sir Edward was persuaded to cast in his lot with his temporary Puritan allies, then led by Hampden, and bring in the Bill for "the utter eradication of

* *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, vol. xxxix., pp. 200, 208.

† A younger brother of Sir Nicholas Tooke of Godington in Great Chart.

‡ *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, vol. xlii., p. 509.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. xlvi., p. 254.

|| Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii., p. 416.

Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, etc.," a step which even Neal condemns as being "a rash and inconsiderate attempt" (vol. i., p. 702).^{*} Dering, however, lived to greatly modify his views, and to give play to his really loyalist instincts, redeeming the error of his vanity and feebleness as a politician by the fame he attained as a scholar and a man of letters, of which the Surrenden Library and MSS. were a lasting proof.

Wilson's suspension, however, was cancelled in 1639, and he was restored to Otham; but soon another difficulty confronted him. The Scots were advancing upon England, and a Special Prayer was ordered to be used in Church. To this Wilson objected on Canonical grounds, and was again suspended. However, by 1642 a great change had come over the political world of England: Parliament was supreme, a solemn fast was to be observed, Wilson—the victim of Laud's Inhibition—was selected to preach the sermon on the occasion before the House of Commons in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, besides having other honours bestowed on him by his friends, now in the ascendant—among them the post of Curate of Maidstone,[†] where he took up his abode, leaving the (as he thought) less important duties of Otham to be performed by a substitute. And he who, in the sermon already alluded to, had denounced non-residence as "an odious sin" became himself non-resident! How his substitute at Otham, Thomas Heron (or Herne), whose signature appears at every Vestry Meeting held

^{*} Clarendon (*History of the Rebellion*, Book iii., A.D. 1641) thus describes the scene. Hampden and his party "prevailed with Sir Edward Dering," a man very opposite to all their designs (but a man of levity and vanity, easily flattered by being commended), who presented the Bill to the House from the gallery, with the two verses of Ovid, the application whereof was his greatest motive:

"Cuncta prius tentata, sed immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur."

They describe Jupiter's excuse and justification for annihilating the Titans; and Dering seems to have selected his exalted place in the gallery to give more dramatic effect to the words, as though an utterance from Heaven. Dryden has thus rendered the passage in English:

"I tried whatever in the Godhead lay,
But gangrened members must be lopped away
Before the nobler parts are tainted to decay."

[†] Wilson, though Presbyterian in doctrine, was, like the far-famed Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, loyalist at heart, and these higher instincts proved fatal to his happiness at Maidstone, for, preaching on the Sunday after the King's execution, he openly in his sermon denounced the act as murder, when, according to Newton (*History of Maidstone*), an exciting scene was witnessed at the Church door between him and his infuriated parishioner, Andrew Broughton, who, as Clerk of the Council, had read the warrant for the King's execution.

during his stay there, performed his duties may be inferred from an entry in the Church Register made by the succeeding Rector, JOHN DAVIS, that "from 1617 to 1653" (the period of Heron's holding the Cure) "there was neither Mariage, Christening, or Buriall enter'd in the Otham Register."

Again, the appointment to the Rectory seems to have been in the hands of a Maidstone magnate, for THOMAS WHITE, who was appointed by that new body "The Commissioners for the approval of Publique Preachers,"* was presented by Walter Francklyn, Esq., a name of frequent occurrence among the Maidstone Jurats. He held the Rectory for only a few months, and was succeeded by JOHN DAVIS, under the same presentation,† who, though not formally appointed till 1655, had evidently a promise or an anticipation of the preferment, for in the fly-leaf of the Church Register is the entry "John Davis, who is to be Rector of Otham, 1654." His connection with the parish was, however, of more substantial benefit to Otham than that of Wilson had been, for it would seem that at the time there was no Parsonage House, or it had fallen into uninhabitable disrepair, for an entry in the Church Rate Accounts of the year 1651 mentions the payment of "a year's rent to Mr. Hendle for a house," and there still remains a massive beam running across the kitchen of the present Parsonage bearing the inscription "THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT BY JOHN DAVIS, RECTOR OF OTHAM, 1664." He too, like Wilson, became Curate of Maidstone, where he died and was buried, a laudatory monument in All Saints' Church recording his merits and the esteem in which he was there held.

On the death of John Davis the Advowson had apparently passed into the hands of MATHIAS RUTTON, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who was already Dean of Battle in Sussex, for he presented himself to the Rectory,‡ and held it for nearly a quarter of a century, dying in 1700. The next patron, according to Ecton,§ was John Cook, Esq., who early in 1701 presented WILLIAM SIMMONDS to the vacant Parsonage.|| He resigned it in 1727, by which time the patronage had returned to the Hendley family in the person of its representative, Bowyer Hendley, the grandson of Sir Thomas Hendley of Coreshorne in Cranbrook, who had been Sheriff for the County in 1702. His father John Hendley had married Priscilla, the daughter of Thomas Fludd of Gore Court,

* Augmentation of Church Lands, Lambeth MSS., fo. 997. † *Ibid.*

‡ Archbishop Sheldon's Register, fo. 375^b.

§ *Thesaurus*, p. 18.

|| Archbishop Tenison, I., fo. 207^b.

which estate he purchased from her brother Alabaster Fludd, thus uniting again the two Manors, and made his future home there. On the resignation of William Simmonds in 1727, Bowyer Hendley presented his son-in-law SAMUEL HORNE, of Pembroke College, Oxford, who had married his daughter Anne. Though little known beyond the bounds of his small country parish, here he lived for above forty years, earning the reputation, according to his biographer William Jones of Nayland, of being "a most learned and excellent man," while the name seems to have lived rather in the fame of his more distinguished son George Horne, who was born in the Parsonage at Otham in 1730, and whose brilliant career at Oxford as a Scholar of University, a Fellow of Magdalen (of which he was afterwards President), a Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, and then Dean of Canterbury, culminated in his becoming Bishop of Norwich in 1791. His name is especially associated with the *Commentary on the Psalms* and also the *Letters on Infidelity*, in which he refuted and exposed the theories of David Hume.

The Advowson of Otham being still in the Hendley family, on the death of Samuel Horne, his youngest son WILLIAM HORNE, already Rector of Brede in Sussex and Chaplain to the Earl of Falkland, was presented to the Rectory, which he held from 1769 to 1821.

Of him, as of his father Samuel Horne, little seems to be recorded. On his death in 1821, his widow, to whom the patronage had passed as the representative of the Hendleys, presented her son, also WILLIAM HORNE, whose ministerial career had commenced in 1799 as "Archbishop's Curate" in the adjacent parish of Leeds. He only retained the Rectory for ten years, resigning it in 1831. At that time the minds of many English Churchmen were being disturbed by the grave political changes which were passing over the country. The "Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829" and the threatened "Reform Bill" (which was passed in 1832) alarmed him, and he resigned the Rectory and retired to Gore Court, which he had inherited, living there till his death in 1841.

On resigning in 1831 (the right of patronage having come to him on his mother's death), he presented his neighbour JOHN ASHBURNER, Vicar of Linton, to the benefice, who, under a dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, held the two Cures, residing at Linton, and placing a succession of Curates in the Otham Parsonage. Ashburner died in 1847, having held the joint livings for sixteen years. During that interval William Horne, the

previous Rector, had also died, and bequeathed the Advowson to his widow, who, dying in 1846, had willed the next presentation to her niece's husband TATTON BROCKMAN, who had been appointed to the Vicarage of Rottingdean in Sussex in 1839, and had subsequently succeeded to the Gore Court property, where he lived; but if he should decline to present himself or resign, she further willed that on the next vacancy (in recognition of the close connection which had so long existed between the Horne family and Magdalen College, Oxford,* of which three generations had been Fellows, and an uncle a distinguished President) the reversion of the Advowson should pass to the "President and Scholars" of that College, to hold it in perpetuity "in trust that they present thereto such pious and worthy Clergymen of the Church of England who may have been educated at either of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, as they shall select and approve." Mr. Brockman did present himself, and held the Rectory for twenty years, residing at Gore Court and also at Beachborough, the family seat, to which he had succeeded. He resigned it in 1869, when Magdalen College exercised the right which then fell to it, and presented one of their own Fellows, the Rev. FREDERICK MAULE MILLARD, the present Rector, to whom the writer is indebted for much valuable information and help.

* See "Acts and Institutions" in Lambeth Palace Library, and her Will (Somerset House).

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND MONAS- TERY OF ST. ANDREW AT ROCHESTER.

BY W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

THE following account is based, so far as the architectural history of the cathedral church is concerned, upon two papers communicated by me (1) to the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society in 1883, and printed in its *Transactions*,* and (2) to the Society of Antiquaries in 1884, and printed in *Archæologia*.† Since the publication of these papers some important additional evidence has come to light with reference to the Norman church and a yet earlier building,‡ and further discoveries have shewn that certain views put forth in my first paper are untenable. The recent identification of the Roman wall of the city has also cleared up several doubtful points.§ I have therefore practically re-written the whole of the architectural history of the church, and appended to it my hitherto unpublished researches among the monastic buildings.

1. THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

"In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 604," says Bæda, "Augustine, archbishop of the Britons, ordained two bishops, namely Mellitus and Justus;" Mellitus was sent to London, "but Justus Augustine ordained bishop in Kent itself in the city of Durobreve," that is Rochester, "in which king Æthilberet made the church of the blessed

* Vol. i. 217-230.

† Vol. xlix. 322-334.

‡ See a paper on the "Foundations of the Saxon Cathedral Church of Rochester," by the Rev. Greville M. Livett, in *Archæologia Cantiana*, XVIII. 261-278.

§ See a paper on "Roman Rochester," by Mr. G. Payne in *Archæologia Cantiana*, XXI. 1-16; also a paper on "Mediæval Rochester," by the Rev. Greville M. Livett, *ibid.* 17-72.

apostle Andrew; he also presented many gifts to the bishops of each church, and added lands and possessions for the use of those who were with the bishops.”*

“In this church of Roffa (*i.e.* Rochester) the holy Justus sat as first bishop, and he ordained priests to serve God in it, for the sustenance of which priests king Ethelbert gave a piece of land which he called Priestfield, to the end that the priests serving God might have and hold it for ever. He also endowed the church with Doddyngherne, and with the land from the Medway to the east gate of the city of Roffa on the south part, and with other lands without the city wall towards the north part.”†

“In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 644, the most reverend father Paulinus, sometime bishop of York, but then bishop of the city of Rochester, passed to the Lord on the 6th of the Ides of October . . . and was buried in the church of the blessed apostle Andrew, which king Æthilberet built in the same city of Hrof from the foundations.”‡

From these entries it appears (1) that king Æthelbert was the founder and builder of the cathedral church of St. Andrew; (2) that it was of stone, for Bæda says the king built it *a fundamentis*, an expression which would hardly apply to a wooden structure; (3) that bishop Justus, although himself a monk, placed the church in the hands of

* “Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Britaniarum archiepiscopus, ordinavit duos episcopos, Mellitum videlicet et Justum . . . Justum vero in ipsa Cantia Augustinus episcopum ordinavit in civitate Dorubrevi . . . in qua rex Ædilberet ecclesiam beati Andreæ apostoli fecit, qui etiam episcopis utriusque hujus ecclesiæ dona multa obtulit; sed et territoria ac possessiones in usum eorum qui erant cum episcopis adjecit.” *Bæda Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, book ii. ch. 3.

† “In hac ecclesia Roffe. sanctus Justus episcopus sedit primus. et presbiteros ad serviendum deo in ea ordinavit. ad quorum victum presbiterorum. Rex Ethelbertus unam porcionem terræ dedit. quam vocavit Prestefeld. eo quod presbiteri deo servientes jure perpetuo eam possiderent. Addidit eciam ecclesiam dotare cum Doddyngherne et cum terra que est a Medewaye usque ad orientalem portam Civitatis Roffe in australi parte et aliis terris extra murum civitatis versus partem aquilonem.” *Registrum Temporalium Ecclesie et Episcopatus Roffensis*, f. 4; and John Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense* (London, 1769), 1.

‡ “Ab Incarnatione Dominica anno sexcentesimo quadragesimo quarto, reverentissimus pater Paulinus, quondam quidem Eburacensis, sed tunc Hrofensis episcopus civitatis, transivit ad Dominum sexto Iduum Octobrium die . . . sepultusque est in secretario beati apostoli Andreæ, quod rex Ædilberet a fundamentis in eadem Hrofi civitate construxit.” *Bæda*, book iii. ch. 14.

secular priests; and (4) that king Æthelbert endowed it with lands, including the site of the cathedral church.

Although the church of Rochester possesses the originals or transcripts of an unusually fine series of early charters,* only one of Æthelbert's has come down to us. It is nevertheless one of the oldest Saxon charters of which the text has been preserved. By it the king conveys to the church, not the site of the cathedral church and the rest of the land between the south gate and the east gate, but the remaining land in the south part of the city. It would seem therefore that, since the land given by Æthelbert was divided by the street joining the north and south gates, either two separate charters were necessary, or they were issued at different dates, and this surviving charter† grants the western half only, which is now mostly covered by the site of the castle.

In 676 Æthelred, king of the Mercians, laid waste Kent, and defiled the churches and monasteries. The city of Rochester did not escape the common slaughter, and Bæda‡ relates that when bishop Putta, who was absent at the time, heard that his church had been depopulated and robbed, he refused to return, and betook himself to Sexwulf, bishop of the Mercians, in whose diocese he spent the rest of his days without taking any steps to recover his own see. His successor, Cuichelm, according to the same authority, also left Rochester after a short time, because of the lack of things (*prae inopia rerum*). There is, however, no statement as to the destruction of Æthelbert's church, and, if it had been fired, a stone structure would not be likely to sustain much further damage than the loss of its wooden roof and furniture.

In 726 bishop Tobias died, "and was buried within the porch (*porticu*) of St. Paul the apostle, which within the church of St. Andrew he had made into a place of sepulture

* When Thorpe printed his *Registrum Roffense* in 1769 twelve of the original Saxon charters were in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. Where are they now?

† For the text of this charter see Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 13.

‡ Bæda, book iv. ch. 12.

for himself.”* It is clear therefore that the building cannot have suffered much at the hands of the heathen, and we find that 400 years later the site of the grave of bishop Paulinus, who was buried in 644, before the sacking of the city, was perfectly well known. Two charters of intermediate date also refer to the same fact. The one, granted by Offa in 788, gives lands “ad ecclesiam beati Andreæ apostoli et ad episcopium Castelli quod nominatur Hrofescester *ubi beatus Paulinus pausat.*”† The other is a grant by Ecgbert in 823 to the church “quæ sita est in civitate Hrobi pro amore apostoli sancti Andreæ *et beati Paulini archiepiscopi cujus corpus in predicta ecclesia requiescit.*”‡ Bishop Ythamar, who died in 655, was also buried in the first church. His remains were afterwards translated to a shrine in the later building.

For three and a half centuries after the death of bishop Tobias the history of the fabric is a blank. It must, however, be noted that several charters of the kings of Mercia and Kent,§ granted during this long interval, speak of lands given *ad augmentum monasterii*. These words were taken by the mediæval chroniclers to imply that the church was monastic before the Norman Conquest, but the phrase is more likely used to denote the “minster” with its college of secular priests, of whose removal in Norman times we have ample evidence.

With the death of Syward, the last of the Anglo-Saxon bishops, in 1075, we enter upon an important crisis in the history of the church of Rochester. According to William of Malmesbury,|| on Syward’s death the church was left utterly forsaken, miserable, and waste, from lack of all things within and without. There were barely four canons, who lived a precarious existence on meagre fare and in

* “Sepultus vero est in porticu sancti Pauli apostoli, quam intra ecclesiam sancti Andreæ sibi ipse in locum sepulchri fecerat.” Bæda, book v. ch. 23.

† *Textus Roffensis*, f. 131^b; ed. Tho. Hearne (Oxford, 1720), 86.

‡ *Ibid.* f. 137; ed. Hearne, 98; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 22, where the date is given wrongly as 723.

§ e.g. those of Sigiraed (762), Ethelbert (781), Offa (789), and Eadmund. *Textus Roffensis*, ed. Hearne, 69, 85, 90, 108.

|| *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (Rolls Series 52), 136, 137.

mean apparel. With a view of amending these miseries, archbishop Lanfranc gave to the church a certain monk, Arnost by name, as bishop. Arnost died in July 1076, within a few months of his consecration, and the see again remained vacant for nearly a year. Lanfranc then appointed his own chamberlain Gundulf, who also, like Arnost, had been a monk at Bec, and consecrated him bishop on the 21st March (12 Kal. Aprilis) 1076-7.

The canons of the church were at first maintained by the archbishop, through Gundulf, at his own expense,* but having recovered from Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the manors of Denton, Stoke, Fawkham, and Freckenham, which had long been alienated from the church, Lanfranc substituted Benedictine monks for the secular canons, and assigned the newly recovered lands for their sustenance.†

That Lanfranc himself introduced the monks is admitted by the author of the *Textus Roffensis*, who states that the archbishop not only recovered the aforesaid manors, but did many other good works for the benefit of the monks "whom he himself first instituted in the same church."‡

The introduction of the monks took place in 1082 or 1083.

During the thirty years of Gundulf's episcopate, the *Textus Roffensis* says "he built entirely anew, as it appears to-day, the church of St. Andrew, which was almost ruined by age. He also constructed all the necessary offices for

* *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (Rolls Series 52), 72.

† In the thirteenth-century Canterbury Chronicle known as "Polistorie," in the British Museum, is the following account *De prima institutione monachorum roffensis*: "Cest an (i.e. 1073) trouva l'ersevesk' lamfranc en leglise de Roucestre ne gweres plus de quatre chanoynes, ceus a deu despleisaunte vie menauns de suz le evesk' Syward. K' poy ilukes vesquist. Esi fust apres li evesk' ernost par le ordeynement lamfranc. K' ausy tost morust. Pur quei lamfranc un moygne de seinte vie a cele eglise sacra Gundulf nome par cely la vele eglise cathedrale tote fist avaler. et une novele dassez plus avenaunte hi parfist honurablement. Eleo clers k' leins estoyent lur vie menauns desordinee. fist lamfranc neetement voyder. ceus ke habit de moygne ne voleient receyvre. mes primes ales engetus par divers lyus garisun assigna suffisaunte. Si mist en cele novele eglise moignes de seinte religiun pur deu servir perpetuerment. E lur assigna teres. et rentes de ses demeygues pur lur sustenance honurablement cum ore pier a tote. gents q'r avaunt nestoyt for ke une eglise petite et poure." Harl. MS. 636, f. 52^b.

‡ "Et hæc non solum, sed et alia bona ad opus monachorum quos eidem ecclesie ipse primum instituit." *Textus Roffensis*, f. 171^b; ed. Hearne, 142.

monks, as far as the capacity of the site allowed. He received also twenty-two monks. He clothed those whom he received with the habit of holy religion. . . . And although on his entry into his bishopric he had found not more than five canons in the church of St. Andrew, on the day of his departure from this present world he left more than sixty monks.”*

A somewhat later manuscript, the anonymous *Life of Gundulf*, gives a more definite account: “Therefore a short time having elapsed (*i.e.* from Gundulf’s consecration), a new church, the old one having been destroyed, is begun. Circuits of offices are conveniently disposed. All the work is finished within a few years, Lanfranc assisting with large sums of money. . . . Therefore all things having been finished, as has been said, which were necessary for the servants of God abiding at Rochester, having taken counsel with wise men, the same venerable father called an assembly of monks and clerks, as well as a great company of people, and with much solemnity approached the tomb of the most holy confessor Paulinus, who had been buried in the old church, and caused the treasure of his sacred relics to be removed into the new church, and laid in the place decently prepared for the purpose.”†

The translation of the relics is elsewhere attributed to Lanfranc, who is said to have “caused the body of

* “Qui xxx^{ta} et uno annis inibi superstes existens, ecclesiam Sancti Andree, pene vetustate dirutam novam ex integro ut hodie apparet ædificavit. Officinas quoque monachis necessarias prout loci capacitas pati potuit omnes construxit. Ipsos etiam monachos xxij. suscepit. susceptos vero sancte religionis habitu induit. . . . Et cum non amplius in introitu episcopatus sui quam quinque invenisset in ecclesia Sancti Andree canonicos die qua seculo presenti decessit plusquam sexaginta monachos . . . reliquit.” *Textus Roffensis*, f. 172; ed. Hearne, 143.

† “Tempore ergo brevi elapso ecclesia nova veteri destructa incipitur. officinarum ambitus convenienter disponuntur. opus omne intra paucos annos Lanfranco pecunias sumministrante multas perficitur. . . . Perfectis igitur omnibus; sicut dictum est que servis dei apud rovecestriam manentibus poterant esse sufficientia. habito cum sapientibus consilio idem venerabilis pater collecto monachorum et clericorum conventu. necnon et copiosa multitudine plebis. cum magna solennitate accessit ad sepulchrum sanctissimi confessoris Paulini. qui in veteri ecclesia reconditus fuerat; et thesaurum sanctarum reliquiarum eius in novam ecclesiam transferri. et in loco decenter ad hoc preparato reponi fecit.” Cott. MS. Nero A. 8, ff. 52, 53; and Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (fol. London, 1691), ii. 280.

St. Paulinus to be raised, and placed in a silver shrine which he had had made.”*

In the *Canterbury Martiloge*, which, although written *circa* 1520, is based on old records, despite the Rochester monk's statement that the archbishop “assisted with large sums of money,” Lanfranc is credited with the whole of the works just described:

“He also began the church of Rochester from the foundations. He honestly finished that which was begun, and adorned it with many and decent ornaments. Above all he instituted there the holy religion of monks. He recovered the lands of the church that had for a long time been taken away, and allowed the monks to have them for their sustenance and clothing.”†

If due regard be had to the subordinate relation in which the see of Rochester formerly stood, and even yet stands, to the metropolitan see of Canterbury, it is very possible that the archbishop was actually, though the bishop was nominally, responsible for the foundation of the monastery of Rochester, and the building of a suitable church for the new convent. It is also probable that Lanfranc, although he had recovered the former possessions of the church of St. Andrew, kept them in his own hands for a time, and spent the revenues arising from them on the building and monastery in which he took so deep an interest.‡

* “Lanfrancus archiepiscopus . . . fecit etiam levare corpus sancti Paulini et in feretro argenteo quod ipse fieri fecit poni.” Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 88.

† “Ecclesiam etiam Rofensem a fundamentis incepit inceptam honeste perfecit, quam multis et honestis decoravit ornamentis. Insuper et reverendam mihi monachorum religionem instituit. Terras de ecclesia longo tempore ablatas adquisivit, quas monachi sad vietum et vestitum habere permisit.” Lambeth MS. 20, f. 190.

‡ The manors of Stoke and Denton were among those which Lanfranc claimed and recovered from Odo, bishop of Bayeux, in the famous suit at the shire-mote held on Penenden Heath in 1076 (see Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 27, 28), but when they were transferred to Gundulf does not appear. In *Domesday Book* (1085-6) they are entered among the possessions of the bishop of Rochester, as is the manor of Fawkham, and to the account of Stoke is appended the significant memorandum that it had been recovered from Odo by Lanfranc “*et inde est modo assita Rofensis ecclesia*.” The manor of Freckenham, in Suffolk, was granted to the archbishop by the Conqueror in 1071, but it was not restored into the hands of Gundulf by Lanfranc until 1087 (see the charters in *Registrum Roffense*, 359), although *Domesday Book* says “*postea derotionatus est Lanfrancus iussu regis in episcopatum rofensem*.” In the same year, or at any rate before

Before the new church was begun, and probably soon after Gundulf's consecration, there was built to the east of the old church a strong and massive tower. The ruin of this, a mere shell, stripped of its lining and reduced to about 40 feet in height, still remains on the north side of the present church. It was originally at least half as high again as now, for there are no windows in the clerestory of the north transept opposite its western side, and it was lofty enough for a bridge to be thrown over to it from the top of the early-English turret at the north-west corner of the quire transept. The accompanying illustration (FIG. 1), taken from Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*,* shews the tower as it was in 1781. That the tower was built before the church is proved by the existence of a tall narrow window (now blocked) in each side of the ground-story, two of which became useless when the church was erected. From the ruined state of the basement it is uncertain where the original entrance was. The tower is now entered by a large opening broken through the north wall, and by a door in the south-west corner made by knocking out the back of an original recess there. There is also another hole in the west side. During the thirteenth century the north-east angle was strengthened by massive buttresses rising from Purbeck marble plinths, and an upper story, probably of wood and to hold the bells, added on projecting arches not unlike machicolations. These are shewn in the engraving.

That the tower was built in Gundulf's time is evident from its character, but the object of it is somewhat doubtful. Primarily it may have been raised for defensive purposes, or as a treasury and record tower, but there is documentary proof that it was at an early date used as a campanile. Thus prior Reginald, who died in 1154, is said to have "made two bells, and placed them in the greater tower."†

Lanfranc's death in 1089, the important manor of Hadenham, in Bucks, was given for the support of the monks by William Rufus, in return for which grant Gundulf built (*i.e.* fortified with stone walls) the castle of Rochester. *Textus Roffensis*, f. 173; ed. Hearne, 88.

* Francis Grose, *Supplement to the Antiquities of England and Wales* (London, 1777).

† "Reginaldus prior fecit duas campanas et posuit eas in majori turri." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 85; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 118.

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We next find that "Thalebot the sacrist made . . . a great bell which even to the present day," says the fourteenth-century chronicler, "retains the name of the aforesaid Thalebot."* Again we have the account of the making of a bell called "Bretun" by Ralph de Ros, sacrist and after-

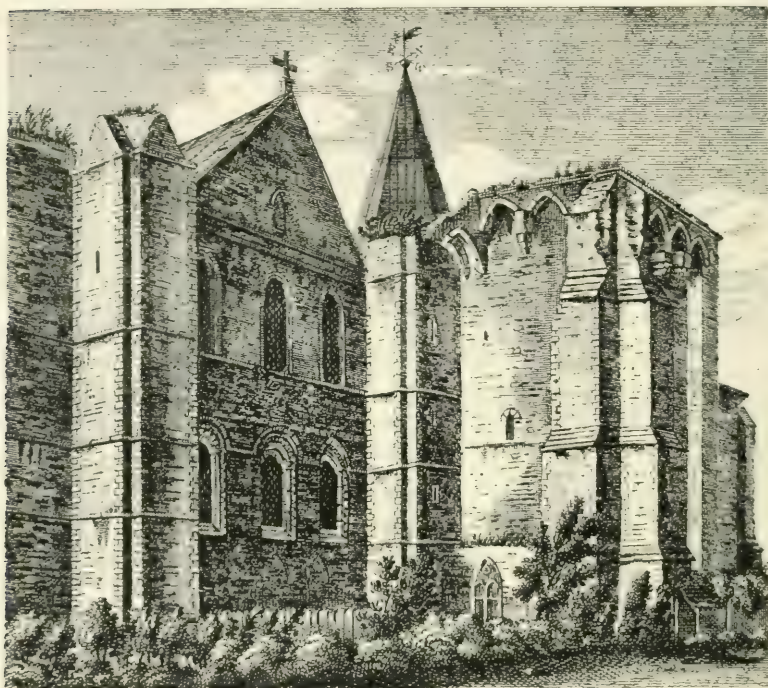
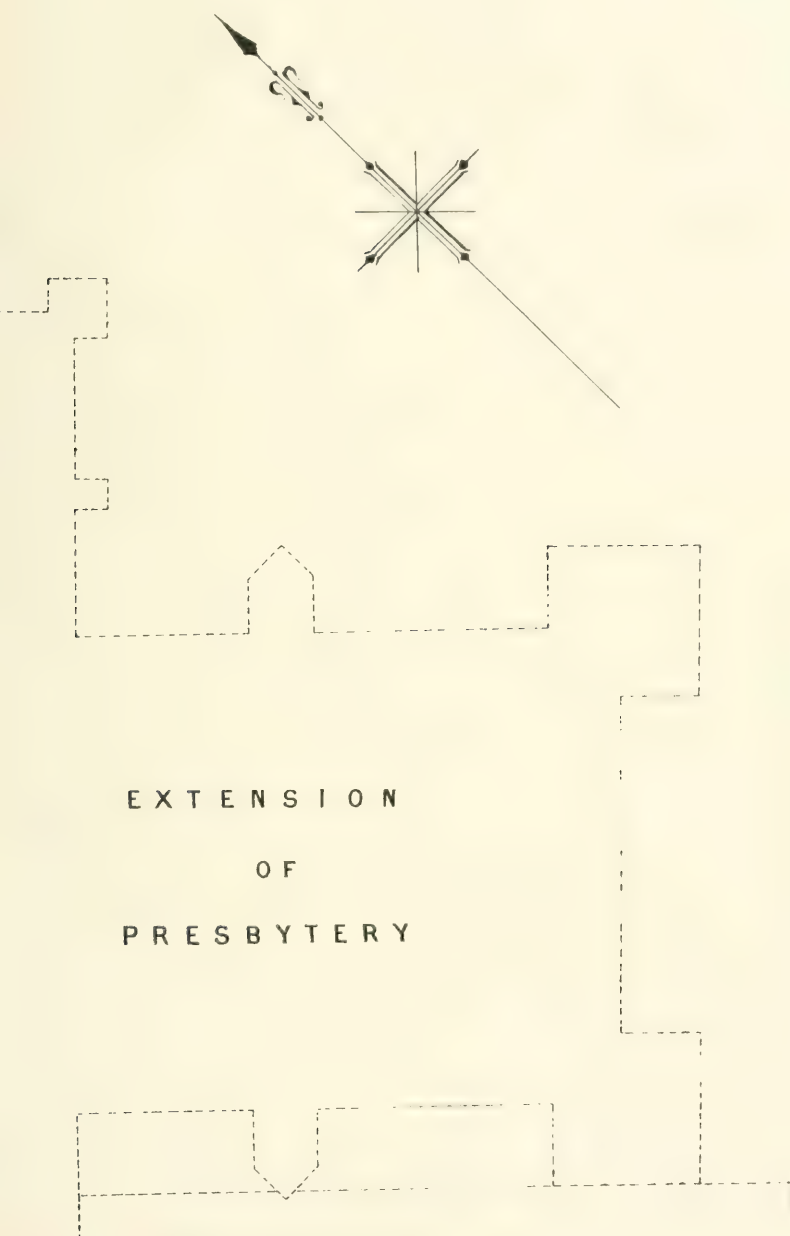


FIG. 1.—GUNDULF'S NORTH TOWER AS IT WAS IN 1781.

wards prior.† Both "Thalebot" and "Bretun" were hung in the "greater tower," for the *Custumale Roffense* (circa 1305) directs the servants of the church to strike three

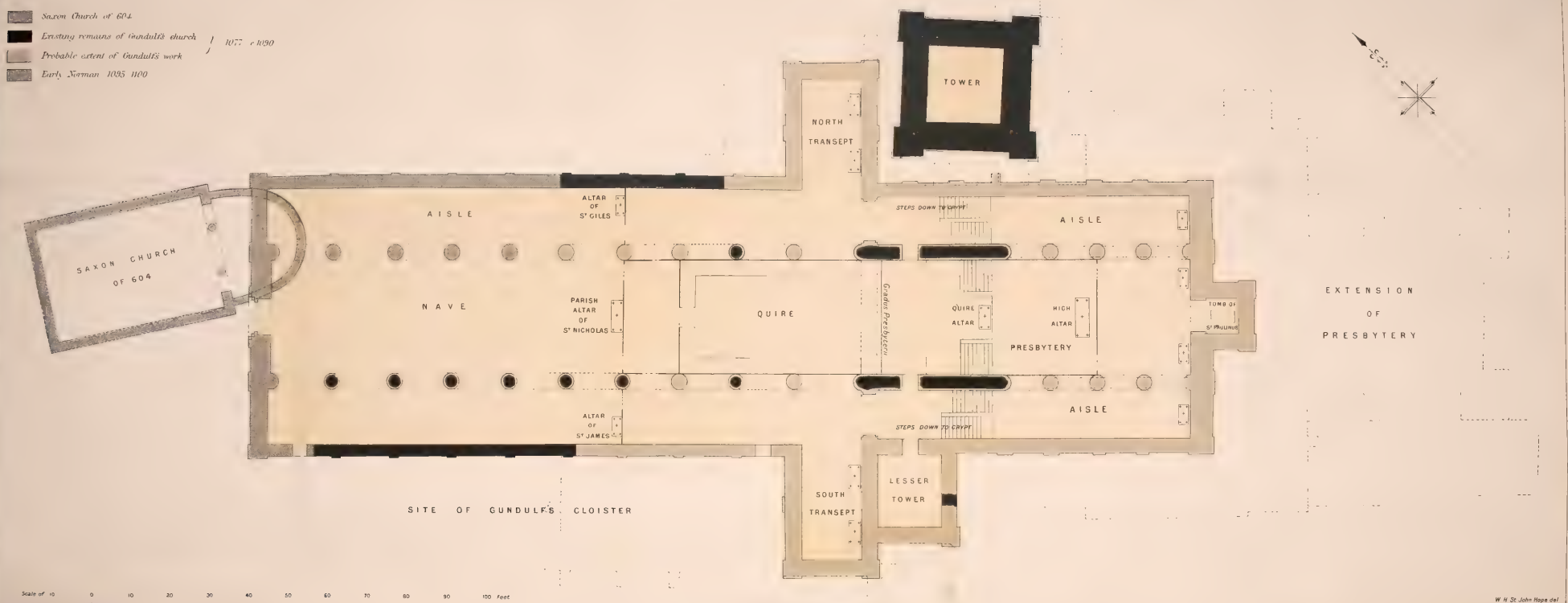
* "Thalebot sacrista fecit . . . cloccam magnam, que usque in hodiernum diem optinet nomen predicti Thaleboti." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 89; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121.

† "Radulfus Bretun habuit in custodia de fratre suo qui necatus est transfretando xv. marcas argenti. Qui Radulfus in articulo mortis assignavit predictas, xv. marcas ad faciendam campanam pro anima fratris sui. Qui denarii traditi sunt Radulfo de Ros tunc sacriste, qui cepit campanam fractam que longo tempore in navi ecclesie steterat et duxit Londinias et fecit campanam que dicitur Bretun, que custavit. xliiii marcas." *Ibid.* f. 89^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 122.



- Saxon Church of 604
- Existing remains of Gundulf's church
- Probable extent of Gundulf's work
- Early Norman 1095 1100

1077 c 1090



Scale of 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Feet

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ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH CONJECTURAL PLAN OF GUNDULF'S WORK.

blows *inter cenam in turri majori de majori signo vel de Beaten vel de Thalebot*, on principal feasts.*

Since there was a greater tower there must have been a lesser, reference to which also occurs in the *Custumale* in the Instructions for the Commemoration of Benefactors, where for Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and others, there is ordered *signum grossum unum cum ceteris in parvi turri*.†

This lesser tower stood on the east side of the south transept. That the *major turris* and the *parva turris* were Gundulf's two towers is clear from the fact that, as will appear in its place, there was no central or other tower until the middle of the fourteenth century. The existing ruined tower at Rochester is therefore an early instance of the detached campaniles of which there were many examples later, though we cannot shew that it was built for the purpose.

The plan of the first Norman church, which may for convenience be called Gundulf's even if Lanfranc built it, was peculiar. It consisted of a nave and aisles which, though left unfinished, were intended to be at least nine bays long; north and south transepts; and an eastern arm, with aisles, of six bays, with a square end with a small rectangular chapel projecting from the centre of the front. The four easternmost bays were raised upon an undercroft. There was no tower over the junction of the nave and transepts, nor any western towers, but the detached campanile already mentioned stood in the angle of the north transept and eastern arm, and was balanced, as it were, by the smaller tower on the opposite side of the church. This was, however, an integral portion of the fabric.

It will be seen from the plan (PLATE I.) that in the disposition and arrangements of the east end, and in the narrowness of the transepts this church stands alone, and differs in a marked manner from the typical Norman plan. The church built by Lanfranc at Canterbury, with which Gundulf must have been familiar, shewed no marked departure from a normal arrangement; yet here

* John Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense* (fol. London, 1788), 31.

† *Ibid.* 37.

we have a church so different that, except in the correspondence between the number of bays in the nave, it resembled it in plan in no feature whatsoever. All is abnormal and all is distinctly local, and herein perhaps lies the explanation.

Of the first Norman church the following parts may be identified :

1. Three bays of the north wall of the north aisle of the nave, up to the first string-course, with the bases of three buttresses, though one of these is no longer visible.
2. Four and a half bays of the south wall of the south aisle of the nave, but to what height is uncertain.
3. Five bays of the south arcade of the nave* as high as the triforium passage, now with a later-Norman order substituted on the nave side, and the piers cased.
4. The great north tower (*major turris*).
5. The western half of the undercroft or crypt below the presbytery.

The question as to how and where this church ended eastwards was first answered by the late Mr. Arthur Ashpitel, who in 1853 found, by boring, "the foundations of a huge rubble wall . . . upwards of 8 feet thick," crossing the crypt at such a distance from its west wall as to shew that it was four bays long.† In 1881, by permission of Dean Scott, I was able to test this discovery by excavation, when I ascertained what had been overlooked by Mr. Ashpitel, that the cross wall extended also across the aisles. Further search for a possible apse east of it brought to light in its stead a small rectangular chapel, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 9 feet wide, which projected from the middle of the front.‡

Other discoveries as to the limits of the transepts, and

* Including the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh existing arches, counting from the east.

† See plan (plate xxx.) accompanying Mr. Ashpitel's paper on the subject in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, ix. 271-285.

‡ For fuller details of this discovery see *Archæologia*, xlix. 323-334.

the extent of the nave as built by Gundulf, were made by Mr. J. T. Irvine during the repairs carried out by him under Sir G. Gilbert Scott in 1872 and subsequent years.

From the united evidence of the existing remains and the discoveries above noted, the plan of the first Norman church, as already described, can be laid down with a considerable degree of certainty.

The western half of the crypt still remains almost in its original state, though much blocked up by modern brick walls and the organ bellows. The eastern half was removed when the early-English extension was added (see *post*).

The original crypt, which was characterized by extreme plainness, was four bays long, and of three divisions, corresponding to the presbytery and its aisles of the upper church. The central division was about $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $26\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, with aisles of the same length, but only $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide. The middle portion was subdivided into three alleys by two rows of three columns supporting the roof, with corresponding engaged responds against the walls. Two of the detached columns still exist, and have circular monolithic shafts, nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with very plain and rude square cushion caps, and simple bases set on a square plinth. (FIG. 2.) The responds have similar caps and bases, but the semi-circular shaft is formed of five or six courses of tufa bonded into the wall. (FIG. 2.) The monolithic shafts and the caps and bases are of white stone, perhaps from Barnack. The roof is a plain rubble vault without ribs of any kind, retaining its original plastering. It exhibits a singular instance of ingenuity characteristic of early-Norman work. The edges produced by the intersection of the half cylinders forming the groin are pinched up, as it were, so as to accentuate the lines, which would otherwise be lost where they intersect at the crown of the vault owing to the large size of the elliptical curve at that point. Just above the caps of the isolated shafts the springing of the vault batters slightly to a height of 8 inches before it curves outward. The main portion of the undercroft opens into the aisles on each side by semi-circular-headed arches, each 5 feet 6 inches wide, without a chamfer or a moulding. The wall is thus reduced to

pier-like masses of masonry 6 feet square, with vaulting shafts on the north and south faces. Probably a similar

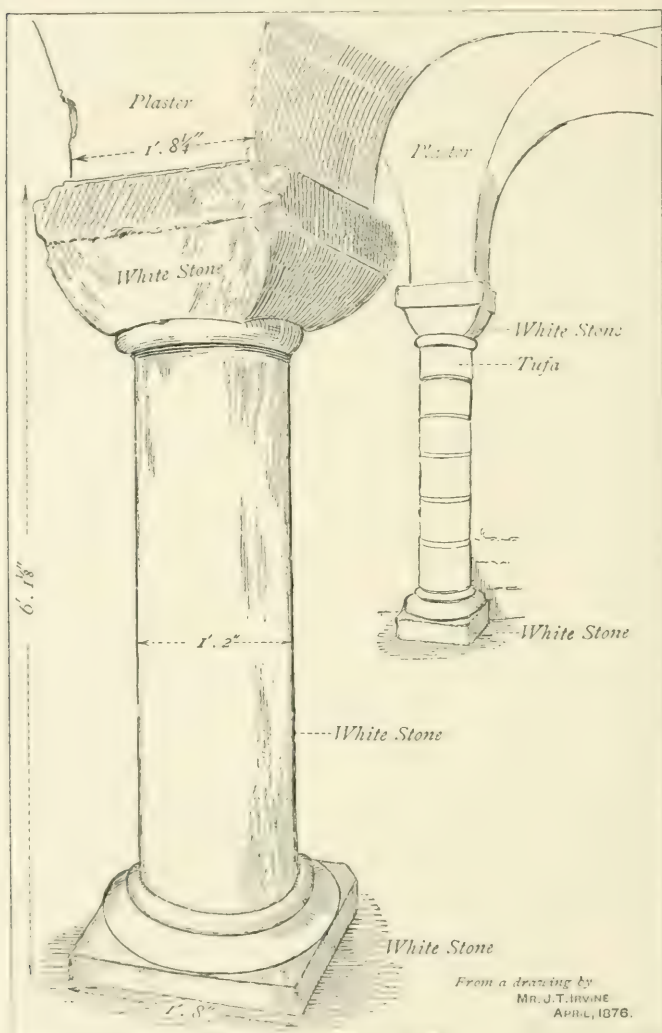


FIG. 2.—PILLAR AND RESPOND OF GUNDULF'S CRYPT.

arch opened into the singular projection on the east. The aisles are vaulted like the central portion, but the vaulting

shafts consist of engaged flat pilasters of 9 inches projection and 2 feet in width, having no bases, and with a plain abacus chamfered on the lower edge. The pilasters are formed of tufa courses, but the capitals are of white stone. The undercroft was lighted by four round-headed windows on each side, and probably by three at the east end. Two remain on the north, but blocked by later insertions, and one on the south, now cut down to form a doorway. The opening was 2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the splay about 4 feet wide. The sill seems to have been stepped. Between the windows externally were flat pilaster buttresses; part of one remains on the south side. The whole of the walls and arch-soffits are still covered with the original plaster in a very perfect state; but the south side of the last bay of the north aisle, and the voussairs and flat jambs of all the arches, have never been so covered. Judging from certain square holes cut in the vaulting just above the caps, there appears to have been a wooden screen carried right across the undercroft and its aisles between the two westernmost bays, forming, as it were, an ante-chapel.

The undercroft was entered from the upper church by doorways in the west walls of the aisles, but only that in the north aisle remains. It is a round-headed doorway, 4 feet wide and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, now blocked. It was partly opened some years ago, when it was found that the passage up to the quire aisle was not vaulted, and is still quite perfect, with at any rate two of its steps in place. This passage was deflected towards the north so as to allow two sets of steps to be placed in the quire aisle, the one to the crypt, the other to the higher level above it. The last bay of the south aisle of the crypt is filled by the present steps and entrance doorway put in *circa* 1205. When the uppermost of these steps was taken up some years ago for laying gas-pipes, no traces were found of the southern entrance to the crypt. It was probably destroyed when the great early-English buttress in the quire aisle was built.

Although part of the first presbytery has been entirely removed and the rest reconstructed, it is possible to make out some of its probable arrangements. It measured about

76 feet in length by 60 feet in width, and was six bays long. The first four bays were raised upon an undercroft.

During the repairs of 1872, the plaster floor of the western half of Gundulf's presbytery was partly laid open during the making of a tunnel from the west end of the crypt to the present quire-screen for the wind-trunks of the organ bellows, which are placed in the crypt.* The floor is described by Mr. J. T. Irvine, then clerk of the works, as made of firm plaster mixed with shells, laid upon mortar with a substratum of flints, and of sufficient strength to serve unsupported as the roof of the tunnel for nearly half its length. Its thickness was about 4 inches. From the junction of this floor with the crypt wall, where it was 5 feet 4 inches below the present floor, it gradually sloped westwards for nearly 17 feet as far as a step, where it was 6 inches lower. It thence continued level for about $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet to another 6-inch step. This brought it down to the level of the nave floor, which was 6 feet 7 inches below the present quire floor, and 1 foot 8 inches below the floor of the present crossing.

Mr. Irvine thinks that on the line of the second or westernmost step, which has itself been removed, was a screen of like character to that now standing immediately above it and forming the eastern face of the present quire-screen, and that between it and the crypt wall the monks' stalls were arranged.†

But this very limited area, at most only 27 feet long, can hardly have been large enough for the purpose, and it is much more probable that the quire extended uncramped down the nave as was usual. The westernmost step would then naturally fall into its place as the *gradus chori* or *presbyterii*. How the presbytery was arranged east of it is simply speculation. There is, however, strong probability that the side walls of the lower level were solid as now, and as formerly at St. Albans. In that case the westernmost

* For a section of this important excavation see *Archæologia*, vol. xlix., plate facing p. 326.

† In both my former papers, through a misreading of Mr. Irvine's notes I have followed his theory, but a reconsideration of the evidence shews that it cannot be upheld.

bay may have been pierced on each side, as at St. Albans also, with the doors called the *ostia presbyterii*, and on the sloping part of the floor there perhaps stood the quire altar at which the morrow mass was sung,* with steps on each side of it up to the higher level. Here the walls were no doubt pierced with four arches on each side, corresponding to those in the crypt below. The high altar, for reasons to be again referred to, probably stood in the third bay, with a procession-path behind it, leaving the first or easternmost bay free for altars or chapels.

I have already mentioned my discovery in the crypt of the foundations of a small chapel projecting from the centre of the front of the church. That this had an upper story, the whole reaching about two-thirds of the total height of the front, there can, I think, be little doubt. Several suggestions have been made as to the use of the upper chapel, but in the absence of an exactly parallel example it is not easy to say which is the most likely. May we not, however, here place, in the honourable position behind the high altar, the tomb of St. Paulinus, whose relics Gundulf had intended to translate into his new church, and where they were eventually placed *in loco decenter ad hoc præparato*? As there is no record whatever of an altar of St. Paulinus, it may be that the practice of building an altar at the head of a saint's shrine, and dedicated in his honour, had not thus early become usual. There were, of course, altars in the ends of the quire aisles. These aisles had also, midway in their length, the parallel ascending and descending flights of steps from the lower level and to the crypt respectively.

Of the transepts there is nothing left above ground, but when the south gable of the present transept was under-

* The *Customale Roffense* (ed. Thorpe, 37) directs that on the obit of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, mass be sung *ad minus altare*, which was probably the altar in question. An altar stood in the corresponding position at Bury St. Edmunds, Ely, Worcester, and other places; also in the Saxon cathedral church at Canterbury. The contemporary presbytery built by bishop Walkelin at Winchester between 1079 and 1093 had an eastern chapel of four and a half bays with an apsidal end, which was probably the chapel of St. Swithun, and contained his shrine. Both presbytery and chapel stood over a crypt of the same area, which still exists.

pinned in 1872, the foundations of the east and south walls of the older one were met with. They shewed that the first transept was as long as the existing one, namely 120 feet; but its width could not have exceeded 15 feet, a dimension fixed by the discovery of the footings of the pilaster buttresses that clasped the south-west angle. There is also still to be seen in the wall above a straight joint with tufa quoin-stones, which apparently pertains to a later rebuilding, but previous to the widening of the transept to its present dimensions.

This remarkable narrowness of the transept, which is without parallel in a church of such a scale, is perhaps to be explained by the absence of a tower or lantern over the crossing. The east side of each wing of the transept did not open into an apse, as was often the case, for on the north there was the "greater tower" standing in the way, and to balance this, as it were, the "little tower" was built on the south, the north and west walls of which formed the south quire aisle wall and east wall of the transept respectively. A section of the east side of this tower, marked by the tufa quoins in the wall by the later cloister door, is all that remains of it above ground. But its former existence and dimensions are further proved by the existing foundations of its east and south sides, which were fully traced and examined by Mr. Irvine, and by the north jamb of the thirteenth-century arch that spanned the east end of the aisle between it and the quire. The documentary evidence of its existence has already been cited.* Each wing of the transept no doubt contained two altars against the east wall, as in later times.

As the transept was hardly wider than the nave aisles, it cannot have been much more than half the height of the present transept, and it is a question whether the wings were not treated merely as extensions of the aisles to hold altars. In that case they probably did not open into a central crossing, but were shut off by a prolongation eastwards of the nave arcades. In a church that exhibits so

* The ground floor of this tower was probably a vestry entered from the quire aisle.

many peculiarities, so unusual an arrangement may possibly have existed. The spacing out, however, of the bays of the first Norman nave allows of a slightly wider interval for the easternmost arch, and the Rev. G. M. Livett* has suggested to me that there may have been a loftier arch here, of a height equal to the pier arch and triforium combined, opening into the transept on either side. In that case the triforium was probably returned across the end of each aisle where it joined the transept. As all traces of the original arrangement have been removed by later rebuildings, the question must remain an open one.

The existing remains of the first Norman nave have already been enumerated. The identification of the original south arcade, and of the extent of the old work generally, is due to the perspicuity of Mr. Irvine, who also, in his official capacity as then clerk of the works, discovered the bases of the north aisle buttresses during the underpinning of the aisle walls in 1875-6.

At the same time the more curious discovery was made that the first nave had not been completed westwards. All round the church, wherever the foundations of the earliest Norman work have been met with, they are formed of (1) about a foot in thickness of gravel, and (2) an upper layer of small chalk, laid in a shallow trench with a footing course of two layers of Kentish rag-stone.† From these easily recognized characters in which the foundations differ from those of later builders, it is proved that on the south side the wall stops short half a bay from the west front, while on the north it only extends three bays from the west wall of the present transept. There would therefore be nine arches of the first work (including the opening into the transept) on the south side, and five on the north.

That Gundulf, despite the account of a later chronicler, did not finish the church is now evident, but why he should have nearly completed one side, and only built half the

* Late Minor Canon and Precentor in the cathedral church of Rochester, and now vicar of Watlington.

† The foundations uncovered by me in the crypt were of somewhat better character, being composed of flint and small chalk, with some mortar, and no gravel. They were laid in dark brown earth with oyster shells in it.

other, have to be explained. As I wrote in 1886: "We must remember that when Gundulf built his church the old-English one was standing, as well as the great tower erected by him to the east of it; the new works therefore had to be fitted in somehow between these, for the old church was wanted, at any rate in part, for service until the new one was covered in. I think therefore that the lines of the new nave were so set out that without removing the old church the south wall might be built to place the monks' cloister against, and that the work included the south aisle, while on the north the old church stood in the way, and only five bays could be put up. We may therefore surmise that the site of the first church is to be looked for between the north wall of the present nave and the south arcade."*

The difficulty has been to some extent cleared up by the discovery, in the autumn of 1888, during the underpinning of the west front, of the foundations of what seems to be an early church, partly underlying the northern end of the front and extending westwards from it. This most interesting and important discovery has been so lately and so fully described by Mr. Livett, in a paper printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*,† that a detailed description of it is unnecessary. More recently, in the summer of 1894, excavation and probing have brought to light some additional facts, which Mr. Livett has obligingly communicated to me. From the combined data it appears that this church consisted of an aisleless nave, in round numbers 42 feet long and 28 feet wide, with an eastern apse $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 19 feet long. If there was a western apse‡ or porch, the foundations of it lie under the street, and could not be looked for. From Mr. Livett's careful description, this building, if not of Roman work, was certainly built in the Roman manner, and of Roman materials. It must therefore have been either a church like that recovered by Augustine at

* *Archæologia*, xlix. 333.

† Vol. XVIII. 261-278.

‡ There was probably a second apse as well as that in which the high altar stood, that of St. Paul, which bishop Tobias had made into his own burying-place.

Canterbury in 602, "which had been constructed by the original labour of Roman believers,"* or the church built by Æthelbert in 604. That there were churches in this country in Roman times has been absolutely proved, independently of historical evidence, by the discovery of the foundations of one at Silchester in 1893, which cannot well be of later date than the fourth century.† This was, however, on a smaller scale than the Rochester church, and on a different plan, and had its altar in an apse at the *west* end. A comparison of the plan of the Rochester building, according to Mr. Livett's measurements, with those of three other early churches in Kent of the same type, which I have lately planned, viz. St. Pancras and St. Martin at Canterbury, and the foundations of Æthelburga's church at Lyminge, gives the following interesting results :

	NAVE.		APSE.	
Rochester	42	$\times 28\frac{1}{2}$ feet	$21\frac{1}{4} \times 19$ feet
St. Pancras	$42\frac{1}{2}$	$\times 26\frac{1}{2}$ "	25×24 "
St. Martin	$38\frac{1}{4}$	$\times 24\frac{1}{2}$ "	(destroyed)
Lyminge	32	$\times 17\frac{1}{4}$ "	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ feet

The ancient church at Reculver had aisles, but its nave and apse seem to have been about co-equal with St. Pancras.

This is not the place to discuss the relative ages of these buildings, round which a fierce controversy has raged for years; it will suffice to state that the balance of present opinions is in favour of their early date, and of their having been built at no great intervals apart. It is therefore not unlikely that the Rochester foundations may be those of the church built *a fundamentis* by Æthelbert in 604. It will at once be seen, on reference to Mr. Livett's plan, that the position of this church, and the fact of its being in use, explain to some extent why Gundulf only carried his arcades as far as he did. But it will also be seen that there is no apparent reason why the north arcade should have been stopped where it was. The explanation of this may,

* "Recuperavit in ea . . . ecclesiam, quam ibi antiquo Romanorum fidelium opere factam fuisse dedicerat." *Beda Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, book i. ch. 33.

† *Archæologia*, liii. 564-568.

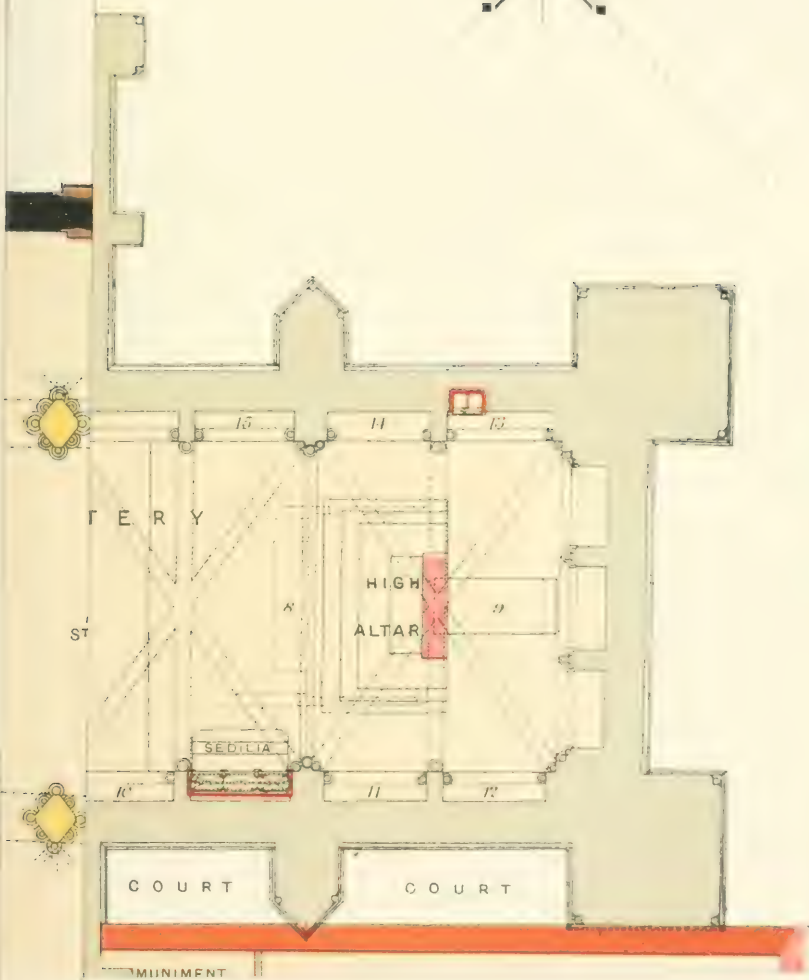
I think, be found in the twofold division of the nave into conventual and parochial.

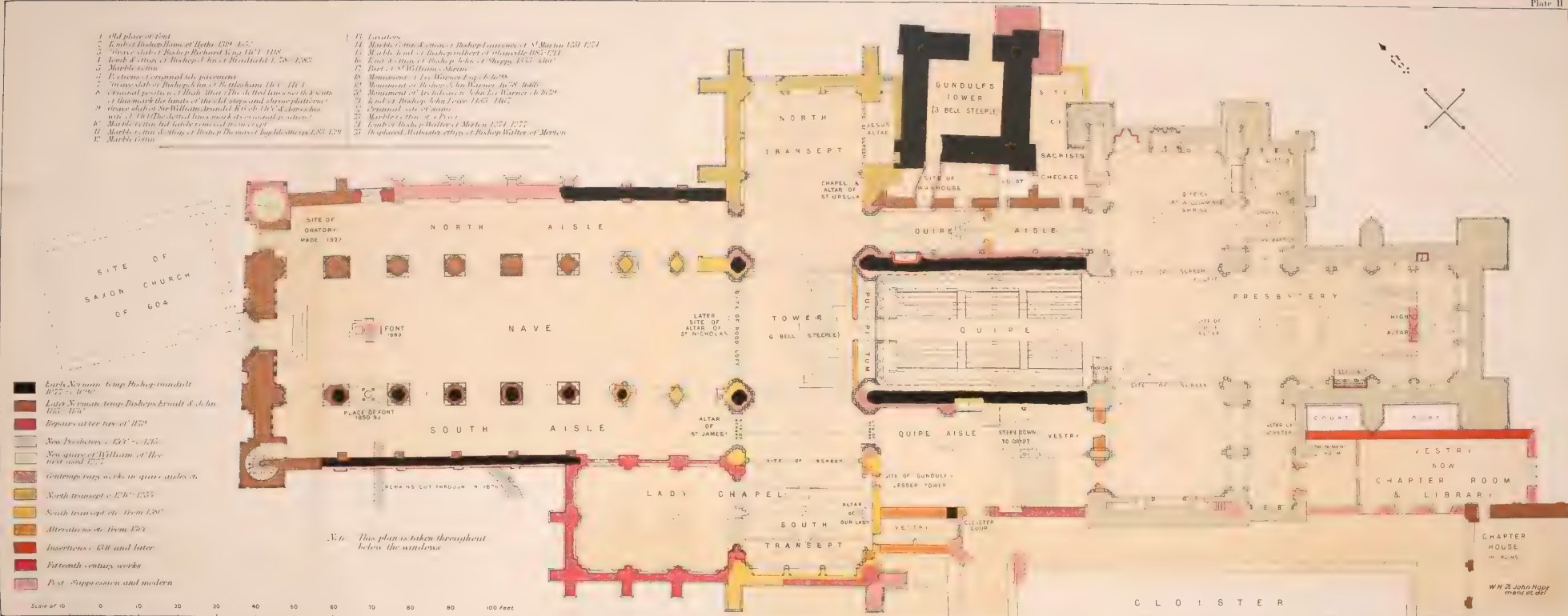
During the whole period from 604 to 1100 there is no mention of any other church in Rochester than that of St. Andrew. It is true that a charter of 850 speaks of a church "dedicated in honour of St. Mary the Virgin," but this was outside the city, *in orientali plaga extra murum civitatis in meridie parte*,* and probably destroyed by the Danes. The church of St. Margaret, which we hear of first in Gundulf's time, was also outside the city. The church of St. Andrew must therefore have served for the citizens as well as the canons, and been parochial as well as collegiate.

If it be assumed, and indeed there is no evidence, documentary or otherwise, to the contrary, that the little church built by Æthelbert had continued in use until Gundulf's time, and that there was no other in the city, it is difficult to see how all the devoutly disposed citizens, of even such a population as Rochester then probably had, could have worshipped within it, unless in relays. If the apse or apses were reserved for the clergy and the nave for the congregation, then on the most liberal computation not more than 250 people at a time could have found kneeling room on the floor.

In May 1876, during the underpinning of the outer wall of the south aisle of the nave, there were cut through the foundations of an early building, anterior to Gundulf's work, the axis of which was apparently parallel to that of the present church. (See Plan, PLATE II.) According to Mr. Irvine, for whom I am indebted for notes and plans of this hitherto unpublished discovery, the remains consisted of what was thought to be part of an apse, exterior to the aisle wall, and of a wall west of it; the springing of the former being about opposite the fourth pier of the nave, and the line of the latter directly opposite the sixth pier. Mr. Irvine states that there were no traces of further buildings east of the apse or west of the wall, but east of the apse (?) was a floor of red *opus signinum*. A like floor lay west of it, but covered with a thick layer of wood ashes. The chances of a Roman

* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 23.





edifice being exactly parallel with the present church are somewhat remote, and it is quite possible that these fragments may be part of a Saxon church of later date than Æthelbert's,* and built clear of it to accommodate a larger congregation. Of the extent of this building we have no further knowledge at present, but if it were a church, built within the limits of the present nave, its existence would clear up several of the difficulties that arise from the smallness of that founded by Æthelbert.

In any case, when the old church was taken down, the parochial rights of the citizens in it had to be considered, and the simplest way of doing so was to find room for them in the new building. That the parish rights were so transferred is proved by a charter of Gundulf, which, though undated, from the names of the witnesses must have been issued between the election of Ralph of Seez as abbot of Battle on 1st August 1107, and Gundulf's death on 7th March 1107-8. It grants to the monks, *inter alia*, the free disposition and presentation of the vicars of various churches, including "the altar of St. Nicholas, which is parochial in the church of blessed Andrew, with the church of St. Margaret which pertains to it."†

From this important document it is clear that a parish altar dedicated in honour of St. Nicholas had been set up in the new cathedral church of St. Andrew.‡ It is also clear from later evidence that it stood in the nave until 1423, when a new church was built for themselves by the parishioners on the north of the cathedral church.

The first Norman cathedral church was therefore both monastic and parochial, and the eastern or monastic part of it constituted the church that Gundulf is said to have completed. This included all those parts which have been shewn to be his work.

How far Gundulf carried up his bays of the nave it is

* Mr. Irvine writes that he is strongly induced to take my view.

† "Et altare Sancti Nicolai quod est parochiale in ecclesia beati Andreæ, cum ecclesia Sanctæ Margaretæ que appendet." Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 6.

‡ We also learn for the first time that a dependent church or chapel had been built, probably where the existing church of St. Margaret stands, for the citizens who dwelt in the suburb without the south gate. But with this we have no further concern.

impossible to say. As the monks' quire probably occupied the first three, these were doubtless completed and roofed in, and closed westwards by a temporary wall or partition.* The two bays immediately adjoining need then only have been raised sufficiently high to serve as buttresses to the work east of them. On the south side, as we have seen, four more arches of the main arcade were certainly built, perhaps to carry a temporary roof over the aisle for processions, but there was no reason why Gundulf should have built anything above them.

A good deal therefore had to be done before the old church could be finally destroyed and the parish service be sung in the nave.

During the recent underpinning of the west front it was found that the present late-Norman walls of this part of the church overlies the foundations and lowest courses of an older building, and these were eventually traced to their junctions with Gundulf's work east of them. Full particulars of this important discovery are given in Mr. Livett's paper already referred to, where the differences in the character of the work are shewn to be such as to lead to the supposition that the citizens began the completion of the nave which was to be their parish church. Mr. Livett assigns this work to a date between 1095 and 1100, which is not unlikely, seeing that the altar of St. Nicholas had been established in the church before the end of 1107.

How far the citizens proceeded with the works of the nave is doubtful, for whatever they built is now represented only by the foundations and lowest courses of the walls. Mr. Livett describes the west wall of the nave as plastered with "a very firm and hard white plaster" right down to the footings, but of the north aisle wall he says there remained "only two courses of the early-Norman walling, *not plastered*, and that between them and the overlying course there is at

* Gervase tells us that at Christchurch, Canterbury, in order to enable the new quire to be used at Easter 1180, a wooden wall with glass windows in it, to keep out the weather, was set up between the quire and the unfinished presbytery.

Paries quoque ligneus ad secludendas tempestates ex parte orientis per transversum inter pilarios penultimos positus est, tres vitreas continens fenestras." Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica* (Rolls Series 73), i. 22.

least an inch of mould." There is nothing to shew whether any attempt was made to complete the north arcade; on the contrary, as will be seen presently, there is strong presumptive evidence that it was left alone. It is therefore pretty clear that even if the west wall of the nave was carried up, little else than the foundations were laid in the north aisle, and the parishioners had to be content with a temporary building, occupying probably the six western bays of the nave, to enclose their altar, and so obtain for them a footing in the church.

Gundulf's successor Ralph (1108—1114) having been translated to Canterbury, he was succeeded by Ernulf, abbot of Peterborough, who was consecrated bishop of Rochester on 26th December 1114. This Ernulf was the prior of Canterbury under Anselm (until 1107), who took down the eastern part of Lanfranc's church, and began to rebuild it in the magnificent manner described by William of Malmesbury.* While abbot of Peterborough "he built a new dorter and rere-dorter, and finished the chapter-house which had been begun, and commenced the frater; and many other good works he wrought."† He who had caused such sumptuous buildings to be erected at Canterbury and Peterborough was not likely to have left his own cathedral church at Rochester untouched during the nine years of his episcopate. It is true that the only buildings specially attributed to Ernulf are the dorter, chapter-house, and frater, but there is architectural evidence that some important works were also carried out in his time in the church; and it is by no means improbable that its entire reconstruction and completion was then begun, and, as usual, at the east end. This architectural evidence consists of various fragments of mouldings that have been found in the quire and presbytery.

* "Cantiae dejectam priorem partem Ecclesie, quam Lanfrancus edificaverat, adeo splendide reerexit, ut nichil tale possit in Anglia videri in vitrearum fenestrarum luce, in marmorei pavimenti nitore, in diversicoloribus picturis, quæ mirantes oculos trahunt ad fastigia lacunaris." William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (Rolls Series 52), 138.

† "Ipse fecit dormitorium novum et necessarium, et capitulum perfectum quod inchoatum erat, et refectorium inchoavit, et multa alia bona operatus est." *Ælfrici Candidi Coenobii Burgensis Historia*, p. 66 in Joseph Spikes' *Historia Anglicanæ Scriptores varii* (fol. London, 1723).

There are also built up in the back of an arch at the east end of the north aisle of the nave a number of stones ornamented with the curious lozengy diaper which occurs elsewhere only on Ernulf's work in the northern passage to the undercroft at Canterbury, and on the chapter-house attributed to him at Rochester. These had very likely been displaced during the reconstruction of the presbytery and quire that had been carried out shortly before this arch was built.

What were the alterations in the eastern part of the church we cannot now say. The tunnel made beneath the quire floor for the wind-trunks of the organ in 1872 shewed that a second floor had been subsequently laid above what seems to have been Gundulf's, at a uniform level of 2 feet above its western part.* If, as is probable, this be of Ernulf's time, it would point to a complete reconstruction and re-arrangement of the quire,† and the stones with the lozengy diaper may have belonged to one or other of the two screens that divided the monastic church from the parish part.

To Ernulf's time we may also ascribe the reconstruction and completion of the nave. (FIG. 3.) The original eastern half has since been rebuilt, as has the whole of the clerestory, but enough is left to enable the general scheme to be made out. Beginning with the south side we find that Gundulf's piers have been cased, and that the arches have received a more enriched outer order towards the nave. The wall spaces have also been cased with ashlar.‡ On the aisle side the arches and wall spaces were left untouched, and here the original work may be seen unaltered up to the triforium level. The piers of the north arcade are practically duplicates in every case of those opposite to them, each of which is different in plan, but the arches have the enriched outer order on both

* See the section already referred to in *Archæologia*, vol. xlix., plate facing p. 326.

† Mr. Irvine says in his notes that this second floor "did not cover the part where the floor of the stalls of that period rested along the wall, it ceasing evidently at the line of the front book-board." If this be so, it seems as if Ernulf had lengthened or moved the quire a bay eastwards. So much of this floor as was uncovered was on one level throughout. Its composition, Mr. Irvine - says, was very like that of Gundulf's floor.

‡ The experiment of filling each of the spandrels of the arcade with a circular panel edged with the chevron ornament has been made in one bay on the south side.

faces. The inner orders are plain and square-edged, but while those of Gundulf's work on the south side are faced with tufa, those on the north are of Chen stone. Clearly



FIG. 3.—THE NAVE, LOOKING WEST.*

then the north arcade cannot have been built until now, or it would have been simply cased and treated like the work already standing opposite, and not so entirely altered as practically to have been rebuilt.

* When this illustration was made the nave was free from fittings.

It should be noticed that the bases of the last four piers of the north arcade only are ornamented with carved leaf-work. (See FIG. 4.) This and other features in the work above shew that the reconstruction of the south side was done before the north.

The remains of the Norman triforium are certainly of Ernulf's time, with later decorations inserted. Each bay contains two round-headed sub-arches beneath a large semi-circular arch, all enriched with chevron-work and carried by twin columns and responds with carved capitals. The whole is threaded by a wall passage, the arches of which throughout are *pointed* and not round. This is probably



FIG. 4.

BASE OF THE WESTERNMOST PILLAR
OF THE NORTH ARCADE OF NAVE,
SHEWING LEAF ORNAMENT.

the earliest instance in this country of the use of the pointed arch in actual construction. The space between the enclosing arch and the sub-arches seems originally to have been open, but when the west front, which is a somewhat later work though in continuation, was built, the interval was closed by ashlar blocks with curious ornamental patterns and diapers, which are different in each bay. A very slight examination will shew the difficulty experienced in inserting the blocks, many of them being chopped up to fit them in, which would hardly have been done had the superincumbent arches been built with them. The Norman clerestory was taken down in the fifteenth century, and only some fragments are left at the ends. These seem to shew that externally each bay had a window between two blank panels, a usual arrangement; this was probably reproduced inside by three arches in front of the wall passage, which the western turrets shew to have existed.

Between the nave arches there is in each bay an attached semi-circular shaft, resting upon the front of the capital, and cut off at the triforium string-course. Originally these were

carried up to the roof, which was probably a wooden ceiling, but were cut down to their present height when the clerestory was rebuilt.

Concurrently with the completion of the arcades, the unfinished sections of the aisle walls were carried up, and those parts which had already been built by Gundulf were raised or rebuilt from immediately below the ornamental string-course under the windows upwards. More ornate buttresses than Gundulf's pilaster strips were also inserted within and without. Unfortunately only the three easternmost bays of the north aisle now shew these changes unaltered. (Fig. 5.) The windows have been enlarged throughout. The aisles were not vaulted, and, as Mr. Livett has reminded me, the wall passage shews that when the triforium was built any design of vaulting or even ceiling the aisles was abandoned. Professor Willis suggests that this peculiarity was perhaps derived from Lanfranc's church at Canterbury, which in its turn might have borrowed the idea from St. Stephen's at Caen.*

The west front is a little later in date than the rest of the Norman work in the nave, though a continuation of it. It is indeed probable from the gradual increase in the ornamentation that the nave was somewhat slowly built from east to west without any very decided break. Mr. Irvine states that when the north wall was underpinned it was discovered that foundations had been laid for towers to the front. Such a design was, however, soon abandoned, but the larger size of the last pair of piers may shew that further preparations for the towers were actually made.

Internally the western end of the nave is of three stages. The lowest has a lofty doorway in the middle, set in a two-storied wall arcade of three round-headed niches or arches on each side.† The lower arches are moulded, and spring from shafts. The upper have continuous mouldings of

* Rev. R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1845), 65.

† The architectural effect of these niches has been utterly ruined by their having been recently filled with mosaic panels bearing long lists of the names of the officers and men of the Royal Engineers who were killed in the Peninsular War and other campaigns between 1808 and 1880. The semi-circular tympanum over the west doorway has been similarly disfigured.

chevron-work. Both stories have labels with the billet moulding. The two upper stages are now filled by a modern copy of a large Perpendicular window of eight lights. But



FIG. 5.—EASTERN PART OF THE NORTH AISLE OF THE NAVE,
SHEWING THE LATER NORMAN PILASTERS.*

* One of these interesting pilasters has lately been most needlessly disfigured by the addition of a memorial tablet, for which there was ample room on the wall hard by.

there remain on each side, in the second stage, the springers of an arcade of seven Norman arches alternately blind and open, that once crossed the front at the triforium level, and above, in the third stage, are two lofty blind arches that seem to have flanked a large circular or other window, or pair of windows. The ends of the aisle each contain a Norman window. On the south this has under it a wall arcade in continuation of that beside the west doorway. In the south-west angle is also a good doorway with a bold embattled pattern round the head, which opens into the great stair turret that here projects into the church. (Fig. 6.)

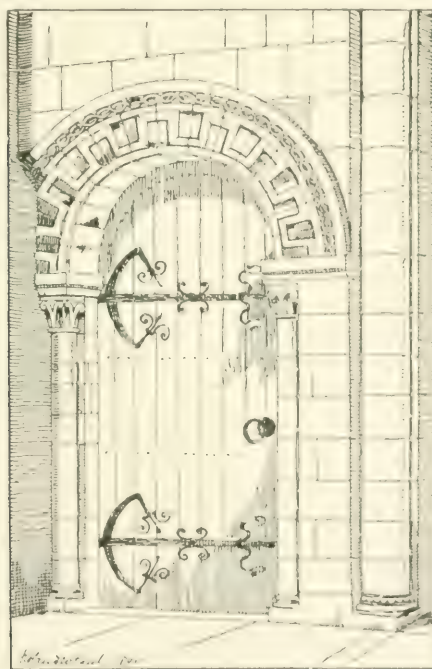


FIG. 6.—TURRET DOORWAY IN SOUTH-WEST ANGLE OF THE NAVE
(The door is modern.)

On the north side the wall arcade was removed in 1327, when the west door of the aisle was inserted (see *post*, p. 274), and the corresponding turret was taken down and rebuilt in block in 1763.

The external aspect of the west front before its recent "restoration" is well shewn in the accompanying illustration. (FIG. 7.)

Before Mr. Cottingham renewed the Perpendicular west window, in 1825-6, the wall above and below it was faced with diapered blocks like those in the spandrels of the triforium. These were removed, and are now deposited, with other valuable architectural fragments, in the crypt. The great west doorway is a very rich work with five elaborately carved orders and hoodmould, wrought with leaf-work and monsters. The jamb shafts have sculptured capitals and medial bands, and out of two of them, one on each side, are carved figures of a king and queen, probably Henry I. and his consort Matilda.* These are among the most ancient statues now remaining in this country.† The tympanum of the doorway contains a (now headless) figure of Our Lord in majesty, supported by two angels, and surrounded by the emblems of the four Evangelists. The horizontal lintel is composed of eight stones curiously joggled together, and carved with twelve figures, probably of the Apostles. The stage in which the doorway is set is plain in its lower half, with a deep recess on each side, but the upper part is covered with a wall arcade.‡ From this stage rise the broad flanking pilasters§ of the gable, ornamented with tiers of arcading, and terminating originally in octagonal pinnacles. Of these only the southern one remains; the northern was destroyed in the fifteenth cen-

* Beautiful and accurate engravings of these figures are given in T. and G. Hollis's *Monumental Effigies*. In *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, i. 143, is a woodcut of an archway discovered in the wall of the old Moot Hall at Colchester, now destroyed. It has figures on the inner jambs like the Rochester doorway, and very similar ornamental details, and was almost certainly the work of the same architect or sculptor. The Moot Hall is said to have been built by Eudo Dapifer, who is enrolled amongst the benefactors of the church of Rochester (see Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 116), and died in 1119-20. He founded St. John's Abbey at Colchester, which was first supplied with monks sent by Gundulf from Rochester.

† Until the recent "restoration" an equally ancient figure of a bishop stood in a niche on the north turret of the front. This has now been taken down and placed in the aisle of the north-east transept for its better preservation.

‡ Two of the arches, one on either side of the doorway, and of greater width than the rest, were found during the late "restoration" under Mr. J. L. Pearson to be blocked niches. They have accordingly been opened out and filled with images of bishops Gundulf and John I.

§ These contain stairs to the upper works of the nave.

tury, and replaced by a small octagonal turret in the style then in fashion.

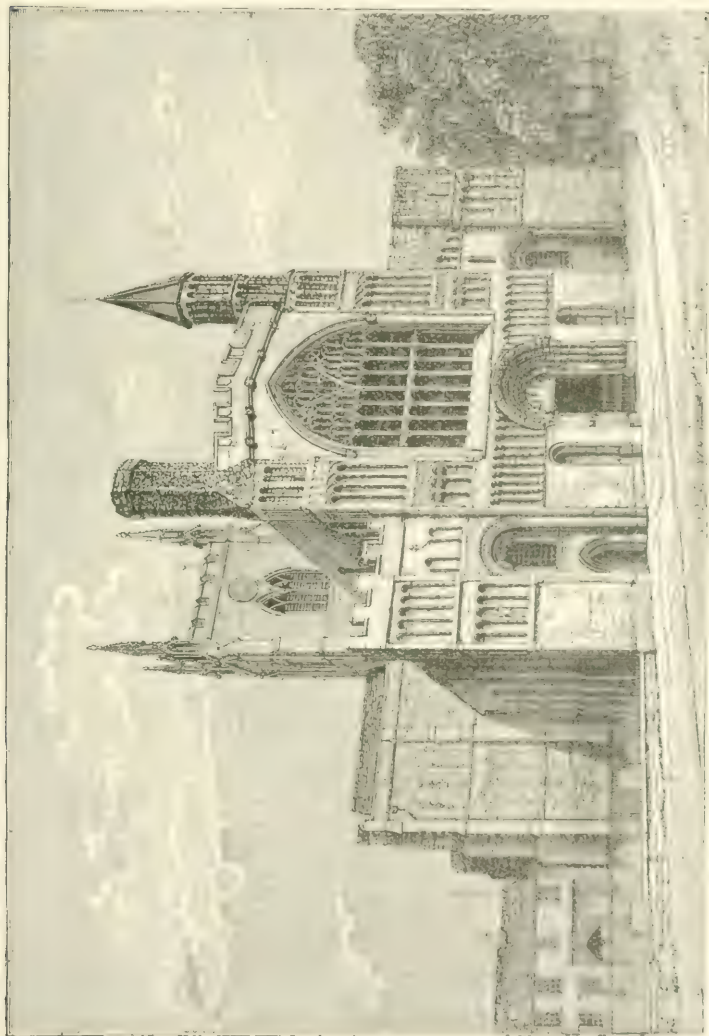


FIG. 7.—THE WEST FRONT, PREVIOUS TO THE RECENT RESERVATIONS.

The south aisle retains its original end. Below the window the wall space is covered with *opus reticulatum*, or an

* This illustration was taken previous to the external alterations to the North Transept made by Sir G. Gilbert Scott.

ashlar facing of square stones set lozenge-wise. Over the window, above the wall passage light, is a row of graduated arches that follows the old rake of the aisle roof. The upper part of the north aisle was rebuilt with the adjoining turret in 1763. The labels of both aisle windows furnish us with a very early instance of true dog-tooth moulding.

The turrets that flanked the front were, according to old prints, carried up nearly to the same height as the nave pinnacles, and terminated in a similar manner. Except in the lowest stage, which was plain ashlar, they were ornamented with tiers of arcading. Their fate will be spoken of in its place.

The west front is, as has been said, somewhat later in style than the rest of the nave, and was probably built, or at any rate completed, during the episcopate of bishop John I. (1125—1137). It bears a striking resemblance in its general design and arrangement to the old Norman front of Hereford,* which Mr. Gordon M. Hills† claims to have been the work of bishop Robert de Bethune (1131—1148), the main difference between them being the larger size at Rochester of the turrets flanking the front.

The only work attributed to bishop John by the historians is his translation of the body of bishop Ythamar, who died in 644, and was buried in the Saxon church. This event may point to the final demolition of the old building, for which indeed there could now be no further use, since the nave was finished. The chronicler adds that bishop John “began also to do many more good deeds, but he did not persevere with them. For it is better not to begin good deeds, than after a beginning to go back.”‡ It is

* The Hereford front unfortunately perished in the collapse of the western tower in 1786. An engraving of it from a drawing by Walter Merrieke is given by Browne Willis in his *Survey of the Cathedrals of York, etc.* (London, 1727), 499.

† *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxvii, 506. Mr. Hills remarks on the “very close resemblance” of the Hereford Norman front “to the corresponding front of Rochester Cathedral.”

‡ “Transtulit corpus Ythamari episcopi. Incepit etiam plura bona facere. sed non permansit in suo robore. Nam melius bona non incipere : quam post inceptum retrorsum ire.” Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 110^b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i, 343.

impossible now to say to what this refers, unless to work interrupted by the fire of 1137.

The whole of the later work seems to have been done, or at any rate roofed in by 1130, for on the Ascension Day in that year (May 8th) the church was solemnly hallowed by archbishop William (of Corbeuil) in the presence of king Henry I., eleven English and two Norman bishops.*

In 1137 "on the 3rd June, the church of St. Andrew, Rochester, was burnt, and the whole city, together with the offices of the bishop and monks."†

Again, in 1179, "the church of Rochester, with all the offices and the whole of the city within and without the walls, was burnt a second time on the 11th of April in the ninety-seventh year from that in which monks were instituted in the same church."‡ Gervase of Canterbury says the church "was reduced to a cinder."§

It is more convenient to take together the accounts of both fires, since it is now impossible to say to what extent

* *Millesimo. CXXX.* Dis geares was se mynstre of Cantwarybiri helged fram þone æreab. Willelm. þes dæies IIII. Noñ. Man. Ðær wæron þas biscopas. Iohan of Rouceastre. Gilbert Uniersal of Lundene. Henuri of Wancestre. Alexander of Lincolne. Roger of Særesbryl. Simon of Wigorceastre. Roger of Couentre. Godefreith of Bathe. Eourard of Norwic. Sigefrid of Cicaestre. Bernard of S. David. Audoenus of Euerens of Normandi. Iohan of Seis. þes feorðe dæges þarafter was se king Henuri on Rouceastre. & se burh forbende ælmost. & se æreab. Willelm halgede S. Andreas mynstre. & ða forsprecon bisc. mid him." *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (Rolls Series 23), i. 380. The King himself says that he gave the church of Boxley to the church of St. Andrew of Rochester "in dedicatione ipsius ecclesie ubi præsens affuit." (Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 177.) In Harl. MS. 636, the dedication of Christchurch, Canterbury, on May 4, 1130, is also followed by an account of the dedication of St. Andrew, Rochester: "¶ Le. iiij. iour apres ceo ke le ersevesk' de die avoit le eglise iesu crist de caunterbire par fu outraious la cite de Roucestre ia tote fust gastie. Si estoit le Roy present. et memes cel iour le ersevesk' Guilleaume ovekes acuns des eveskes. K' de Caunterbire ovek' ly vidrent. la novele eglise de seint andreu ilukes dedia" (f. 99).

† "Tertio nonas Junii combusta est ecclesia Sancti Andree Roffensis et tota civitas cum officinis episcopi et monachorum." Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica* (Rolls Series 73), i. 100. Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22 (f. 28^b), with Gervase, gives the year as 1137, but Cott. MS. Nero D. 2 as 1138. The former is the correct date, since the fire occurred before the death of bishop John on 20th June 1137.

‡ "mclxxix. Rofensis ecclesia cum omnibus officinis et tota urbe infra et extra muros secundo combusta est. iiii. Id. Aprilis Anno Nonagesimo septimo. ex quo Monachi in eadem ecclesia instituti sunt." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 30. In Cott. MS. Nero D. 2 the year is given as 1177.

§ "m^oclxxix^o. Quarto idus Aprilis, feria scilicet tertia post octavas Pasche, eidem Rofensi ecclesie triste accidit incommodum. Nam ipsa ecclesia Sancti Andree cum officinis suis, cum ipsa civitate, igne consumpta est et in cinerem redacta." Gervase, *Opera Historica* (Rolls Series 73), i. 292.

the church was damaged by either or both of them. The lower parts of the Norman piers in the nave, and of the west end, shew plainly by their scorched and reddened surfaces the action of the burning roofs that had fallen to the floor, but the complete rebuilding of the rest of the church has removed all further traces of the fire.

The lower part of the outer wall of the north aisle of the quire, if it be not part of Ernulf's reconstruction, may be one of the works done after the fire of 1137. It has a pair of round-headed windows in each bay, now blocked and only visible externally, and, as I ascertained by excavation, it stands upon the base of Gundulf's wall, from which it differs in plane and thickness.*

Mr. Irvine is of opinion that after the fire of 1179 it became necessary to rebuild Gundulf's transepts, and that the work was carried out by William of Sens, or one of his school. The evidence of this rests on certain fragments of mouldings taken out of the south transept during the repairs of 1872, and now preserved in the crypt. As will be seen by the accompanying illustrations (Figs. 8, 9, 10), they closely resemble the mouldings of the pier arches built by the two Williams at Canterbury between 1175 and 1179.†

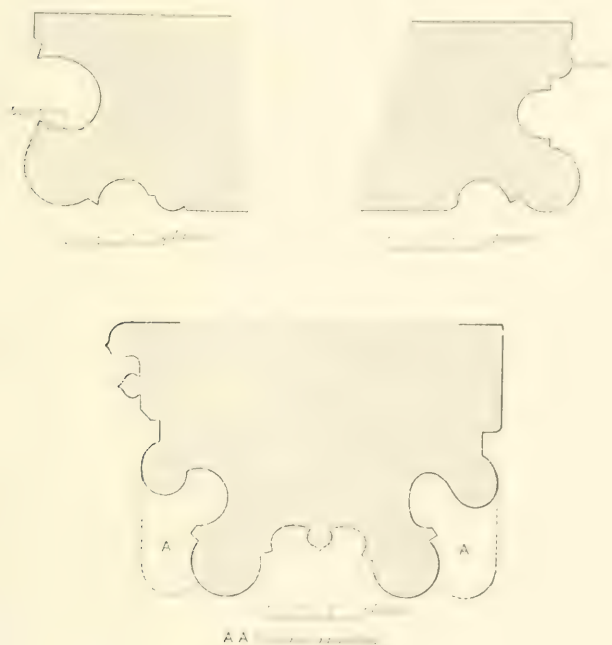
Curiously enough, as Mr. Irvine has also pointed out to me, it will be seen from the straight joint of the angle quoins on the outside of the south wall, that although the transept was rebuilt, its previous width was not increased. When therefore, at a yet later period, it was thought fit to widen the transept, the Canterbury architect's work gave place to an entirely new design.

During the formation of the channels for the wind-trunks of the organ in 1872, certain remains were brought to light beneath the responds of the arch between the quire and tower. As shewn in the accompanying illustrations from drawings by Mr. Irvine (Figs. 11 and 12, pp. 230, 231), of what was found on the north side, the remains are those of a

* The junction has been opened out, and may be seen in the space between the aisle and the old north tower.

† Cf. Rev. R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1845), 90, figs. 34-39.

broad pilaster respond, 3 feet 9½ inches wide and of 21 inches projection, with re-entering angles.* These may belong to a reconstruction after one of the fires, and to the same date, whichever it be, we may probably attribute a third floor, cut through in 1872, lying 1 foot 10 inches above that which we have assigned to Ernulf, and 2 feet 9 inches below the present floor.



FIGS. 8, 9, 10.

SECTIONS OF MOULDINGS FROM THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

Of repairs and gifts consequent upon the fires, very few notices have been preserved. The list of benefactions states that "bishop Gilbert (of Glanville, 1185—1214) gave . . . two

* Mr. Irvine supposes these to belong to a rebuilding *temp.* bishop Gilbert of Glanville (1185—1214). No record, however, of such a work has come down to us, and it is unlikely, as will be seen from the later history of the church, that any such rebuilding was ever undertaken.

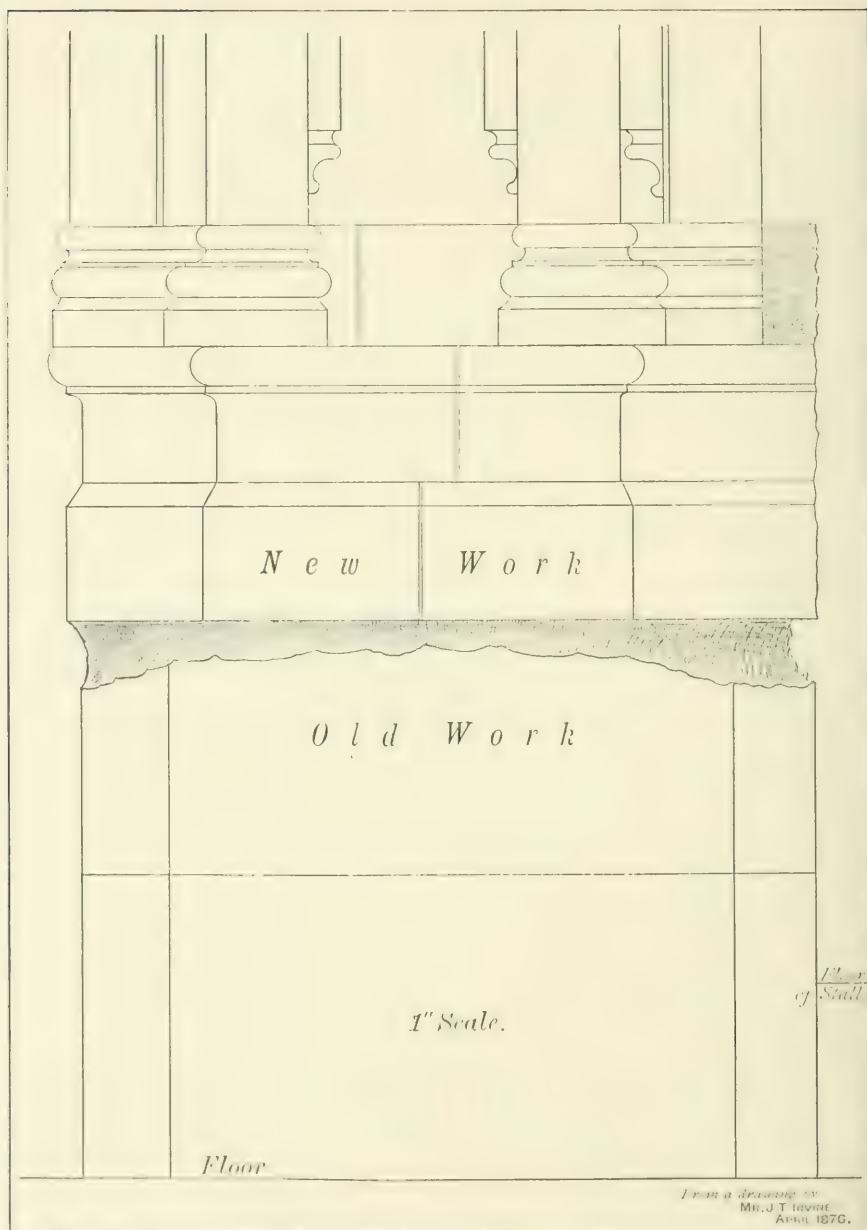


FIG. 11. ELEVATION OF NORTHERN RESPOND OF EASTERN ARCH OF TOWER,
SHEWING REMAINS OF EARLIER WORK.

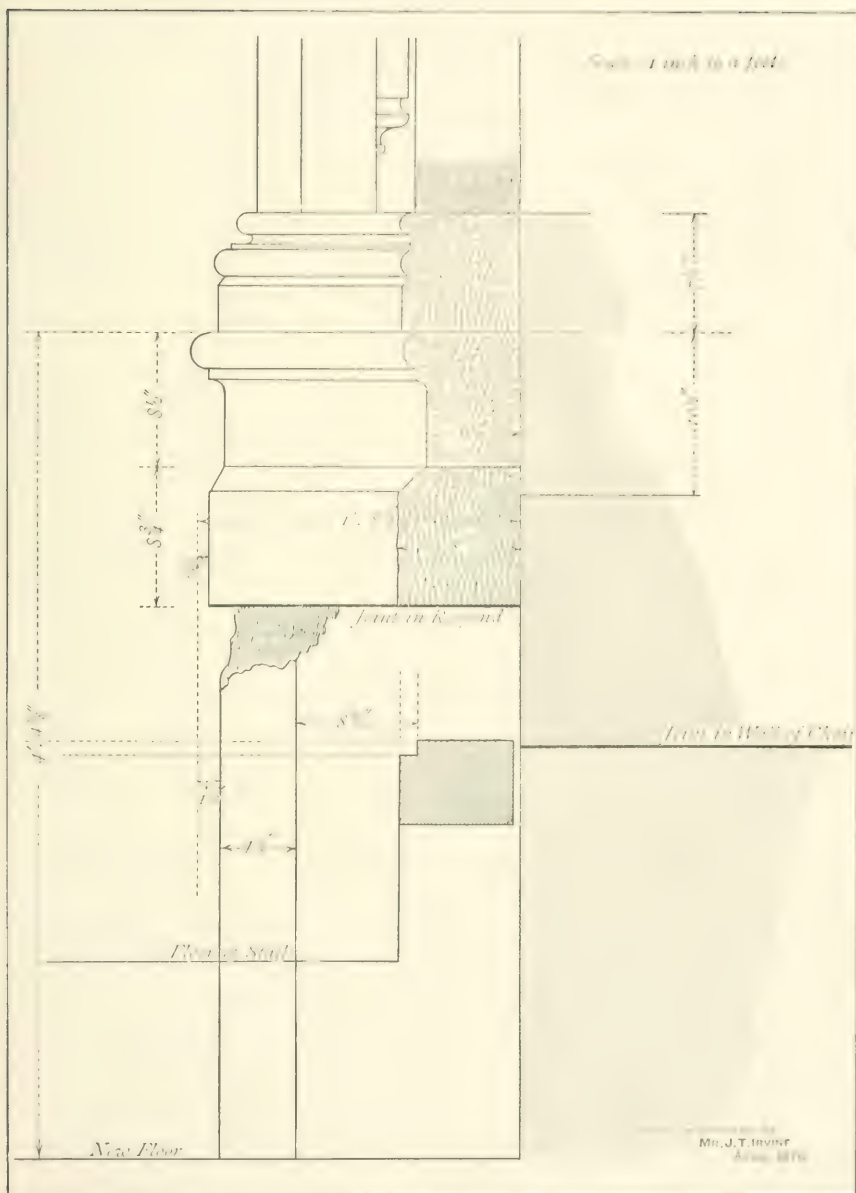


FIG. 12.—SIDE VIEW OF NORTHERN RESPOND OF EASTERN ARCH OF TOWER.
SHEWING REMAINS OF EARLIER WORK.

glass windows at the altar of the blessed John and James,"* and that through the counsel of Osbern of Sheppey, afterwards prior,† "the lady Cecily of Sheppey gave . . . a window at the altar of St. Peter."‡ There are, however, two other entries that refer to more extensive repairs after the second fire:

"Ralph the prior . . . caused the great church to be covered in and for the most part to be leaded.

Prior Helias caused the great church to be leaded."§

Ralph de Ros was prior in 1199 and in 1202, and was succeeded by Helias, who was prior during the first twenty years of the thirteenth century.

Of repairs to the monastic buildings there are many notices, which will be referred to in their place. It may here be noted that in a charter of Ralph (de Ros) the prior, and the convent of Rochester, granting part of a meadow to St. Mary's Hospital at Strood, which was founded and built by bishop Gilbert of Glanville, it is stated that the bishop in return, among other things, "caused our cloister to be finished in stone."|| Part of this work still remains in the lower parts of the outer wall of the south quire aisle, and beneath the present "chapter room."

In the year 1201 a native of Perth, William by name, was murdered near Rochester when going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. "At that time St. William of Perth is martyred outside the city of Rochester,"¶ and is buried in the

* "Gilebertus episcopus dedit . . . duas fenestras vitreas ad altare beatorum Johannis et Jacobi." Cott. MS. *Vespasian A. 22*, f. 88^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121.

† He was prior from about 1190 to 1199.

‡ "Osbernus de Scapeia postea prior . . . Per consilium ejus fecit [dedit *written over*] domina Cecilia de Scapeia . . . fenestram ad altare Sancti Petri." Cott. MS. *Vespasian A. 22*, f. 89; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121.

§ "Radulfus prior . . . fecit magnam ecclesiam tegere et plurimam partem plumbare. Helias prior fecit plumbare magnam ecclesiam." Cott. MS. *Vespasian A. 22*, ff. 89^b, 90; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 122. Professor Willis (see *post*, pp. 241, 242) associates these two entries with the new works of the thirteenth-century presbytery and choir.

|| "Fecit claustrum nostrum perfici lapideum." Charter *penes Dec. et Cap.* and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 633.

¶ There are some remains of a chapel dedicated in his honour on the site of his murder, by the wayside near the Fever Hospital, now called St. William's Hospital, on the road leading by Horsted farm to Maidstone.

cathedral church of Rochester with glistening of miracles.”* The growing fame of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of the miracles wrought at his tomb, as well as the sight of the splendid chapel expressly built to contain his shrine when it should be finished, were probably very much in the minds of the monks of Rochester, and they made the most of the murder of the pious Scotchman. He was popularly entitled “Saint William,” and in 1256 bishop Laurence of St. Martin went to Rome and obtained his canonization.†

Encouraged no doubt by the offerings at the tomb of their new saint, the monks began to reconstruct the eastern part of their church on a new and greatly enlarged plan.

The new work consisted of an aisleless presbytery of three bays, and a crossing with north and south transepts, each with an eastern aisle containing two chapels. To this was next added, in place of the old presbytery, a new quire of two bays; and, still later, the old transepts were replaced by others on a much larger scale, opening into a new central crossing. A beginning was also made on the reconstruction of the nave, but the work came to a stop after two bays had been rebuilt.

The architectural history of this part of the church cannot be better described than in the words of the late Professor Willis:‡

“There can be very little doubt that the monks of the thirteenth century intended to replace the church of Gundulph and Ernulph with one of their own; but fortunately for us, who are the students of an art which is

* “In illo tempore Sanctus Willhelmus de Pert martirizatur extra civitatem Roffensem et in ecclesia cathedralis Roffensis sepelitur miraculis choruscando (sic).” Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 123.

† “Eodem anno [1256]. Laurentius de Sancto Martino Roffensis episcopus transfretavit ad curiam romanam, ubi impetravit canonizationem beati Willhelmi martyris qui in ecclesia Roffensi requiescit.” *Ibid.* f. 164^v.

‡ Professor Willis’s manuscript account of the architectural history of Rochester unfortunately cannot be found among his papers, access to which has been most freely and courteously granted to me by my friend Mr. J. Willis Clark, M.A., F.S.A., Registry of the University of Cambridge, and a nephew of Professor Willis. Another kind friend, the late Rev. D. J. Stewart, M.A., a former co-labourer with the Professor, luckily made a transcript of the lost notes on Rochester, which he most obligingly placed at my disposal, and from it I have printed the important section relating to the works under notice. A few obvious corrections are given in brackets [], as are the notes, which throughout are mine.

almost lost, their plan was never completely carried out, but came to an end when they reached the old nave.

The early-English crypt is by its plan [see PLATE III.] divided into four distinct parts by the thick walls and arches that serve as the foundations of the upper work.

First we have one long rectangular hall, corresponding to the eastern transept above, and bounded by long eastern and western walls pierced by arches, and by short north and south walls beneath the gables of the transepts.

This area is vaulted by means of two rows of intermediate pillars,* which divide it into three aisles running north and south.

Eastward of this is a second chamber or chapel corresponding to the whole length of the presbytery above, and divided by pillars into three aisles running east and west.*

On each side of this is a large double chapel beneath the chapels of the transepts above.

The peculiarity of this crypt is in the long rectangular vestibule, which in the crypt at Canterbury does not exist under the small transept, because the foundation wall of the pier arches above is carried uninterruptedly across the small transept. [See FIG. 13.]

This hall at Rochester supplies a convenient vestibule to the whole of the altars of the crypt, as well to those of the lateral chapels as to that of the centre.

There were two altar places in each side chapel. A piscina is still visible in one of those of the north end, but the next is encumbered with rubbish,† and those of the south end are built up for the support of the fabric.

At the east end of the great central chapel are three recesses.‡ The northern contains a plain piscina in its [north]§ wall, and the southern a similar piscina, or

* [In the western hall the responds or half-pillars throughout are semi-circular. The pillars of the western row are circular. Of the eastern row the first, third, fourth, and sixth pillars are octagonal, the second and fifth round. (See FIG. 10.) In the eastern and later part of the crypt the responds and pillars are alternately round and octagonal.]

† [There is no piscina in this chapel.]

‡ [These recesses are vaulted, and were evidently built to hold altars.]

§ [“East” in MS.]

rather lavatory, in its [south]* wall. In the presbytery above there is a large and curious lavatory in the [north]† wall, apparently for washing sacred vessels.

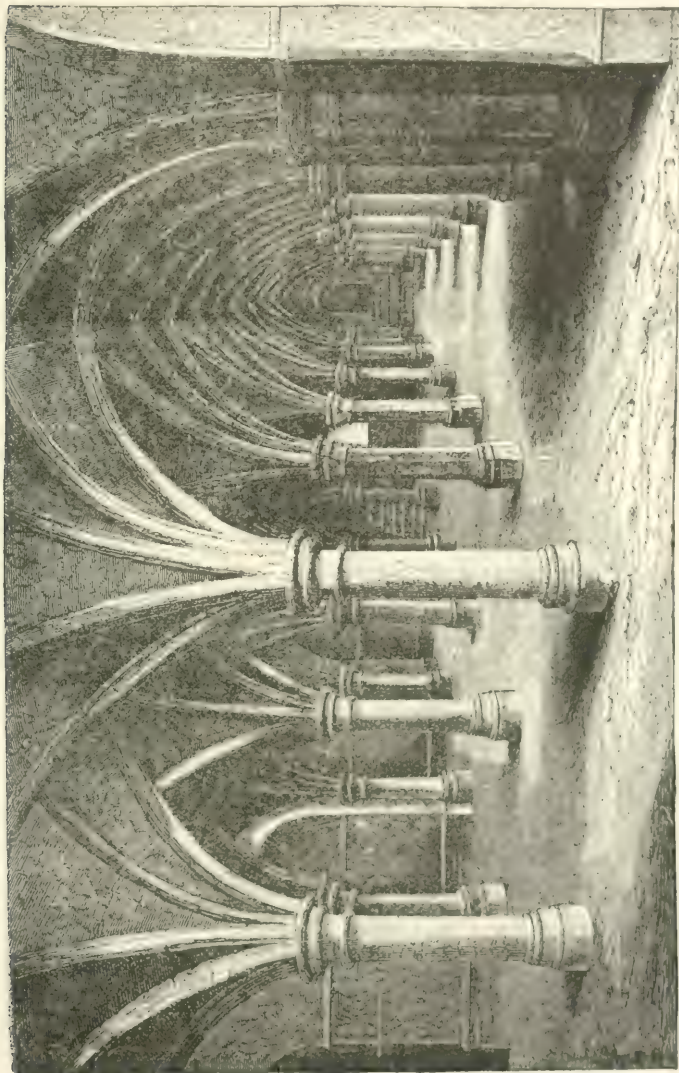


FIG. 13.—HALL OR VESTIBULE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY PART OF THE CRYPT

The walls of the vestibule are built wholly with semi-cylindrical responds ; the responds on the eastern face of

* [“ West ” in MS.]

† [“ East ” in MS.]

its eastern wall are also cylindrical. The vaults of the vestibule have no wall ribs, but the vaults of the crypt east of the vestibule have wall ribs and are 6 inches higher. The reason for the difference of height is to raise the pavement of the presbytery, for in the church above it will be seen that the bench tables of the chapels and eastern arm of the cross are also raised 6 inches above the level of the bench tables of the eastern transept, indicating a step from one level to the other.

Wall ribs serve to strengthen the junction of the vaults with the walls. They were not introduced until after the commencement of the pointed style, and, as this cathedral amongst others distinctly shews, were not universally employed at their first introduction, for, although we find them in the eastern crypt, they are used only in the chapel aisles of the eastern transept and not in the high vaults, either of the presbytery, east transept, or choir. They appear in the high vaults of the north-west transept and in the south-west transept.

Ridge ribs, it may be added, appear in this cathedral, first in the west transepts, north and south, and next in the Perpendicular vault of the north aisle of the choir, where they are used as horizontal, longitudinal, and transverse ribs.

A vault intended to bear a pavement, in the manner of a crypt, has its haunches filled up level with earth or rubbish, and the wall ribs give a firmer connection with the side walls; but the high vaults carry no floors, therefore the wall ribs are not so necessary, and walls were often left rough above the ashlar.

The north side of the east gable, and the small courts east of the great transept, preserve tolerably well the ancient exterior, which is principally of rubble with ashlar quoins and nooks. [See also FIG. 14.] The crypt story of the north gable is of ashlar,* the buttresses of ashlar; the plain wall above the crypt of rubble nearly up to the window-sills; the windows are in a high belt

* [Only in the arch range of the crypt windows.]

of ashlar; then rubble is resumed, and then another belt of ashlar for the clerestory windows.*

It appears from the junction of the north-east turret

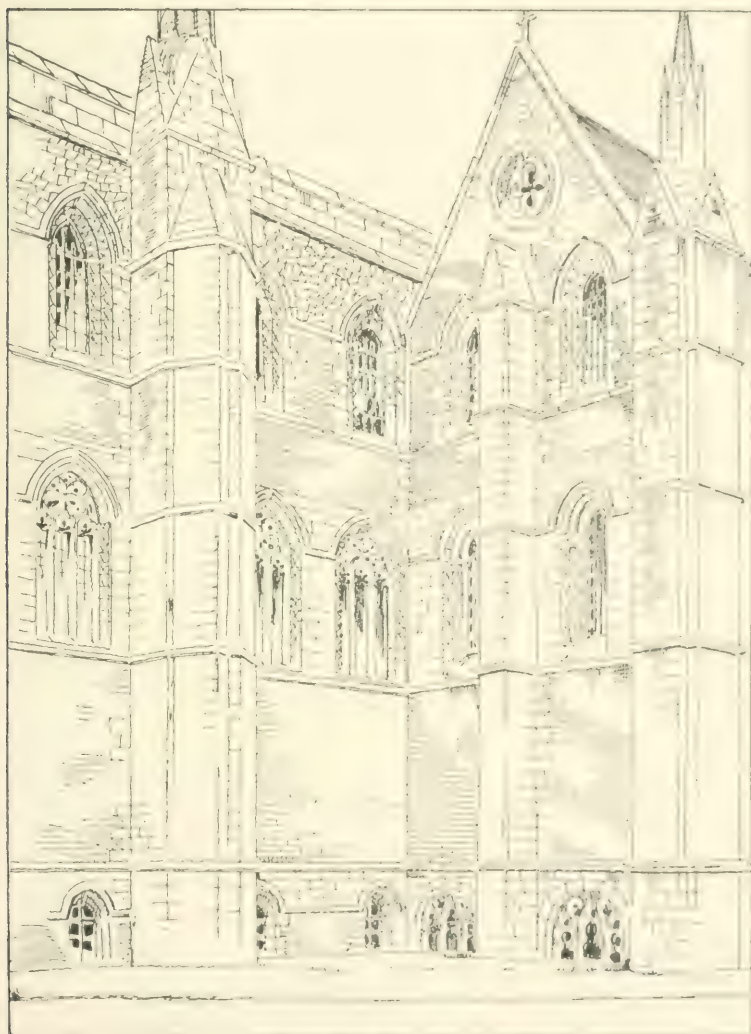


FIG. 11.

JUNCTION OF NORTH SIDE OF PRESBYTERY AND CHAPELS EAST OF
NORTH QUIRE TRANSEPT.

* [This is not the case.]

of the north gable with the wall of the crypt chapels that the walls of the vestibule were built complete and the work of the eastern part next. In fact, the compact form of this part of the crypt, and the greater simplicity of its vault, wanting the wall rib, seem to indicate this mode of proceeding; but the eastern part was immediately added. At Canterbury the crypt of St. Thomas's chapel was vaulted before the walls of the superstructure were carried up.

The early-English part of this cathedral is remarkable for the absence of a triforium, by which the general design is greatly influenced.

The only side aisles in this part are on the east of the eastern transept, where they were employed as chapels. The choir is bounded by solid walls, so that, although there is a narrow aisle upon the north and a very broad aisle on the south, there is no communication from the choir to these aisles by arches or other openings. The western transepts are also without side aisles.

The walls of all these parts of the church are divided in height into two portions, which may be called the pier-arch story and the clerestory. The clerestory has a gallery which runs at the same level completely round from the north-western tower pier to the east end of the presbytery, and so back again to the south-western tower pier.

The clerestory string of the nave is also at the same level as the former, and in all probability there was a Norman clerestory in the usual form of a gallery, to which the eastern clerestories were built in continuation.

The present clerestory of the nave is a late work, consisting of a flat wall with four-centred windows of the plainest and meanest character, the same in number as the pier arches below them, but awkwardly arranged, so that no one window stands above the centre of a pier arch, each being more or less to the west of it as the section shews.*

* [The Professor's drawing has not been preserved.]

The early-English clerestory gallery has been unfortunately blocked up in several places for the purpose of strengthening the fabric, so that the only portion now accessible by the staircase is the north aisle of the choir, the north-eastern transept, and the presbytery. The other parts of this gallery can be reached only by ladders.

The clerestory of the east part, like that of the choir, has a single light window in each sever, in front of which is an arcade of three arches resting on two lofty single Purbeck shafts [and*] on two responds, each having a short shaft resting against the pier, which receives the great vault shaft and the vault ribs in the usual manner, the passage or gallery passing behind.

The choir, compared with the eastern transept and presbytery, appears to be at first sight one work, but it is now time to enumerate the differences which affect the unity of style.

The blank walls of the choir account for the change of distribution in the lower parts; but it is in the clerestories and vaults which crown the walls that we must seek the history of the progression.

It must first be mentioned that the east end of the choir wall on each side is separated from the west wall of the eastern transept by a straight joint in the masonry, reaching from the floor to the clerestory string, and partly concealed by a return in the wall of the choir about 5 feet from its eastern end. This affords a recess for a lofty shaft, which at its upper extremity simply terminates under the clerestory string. The lofty strip of masonry, altogether 5 feet 8 inches wide, thus cut off from the east end of the choir wall, has its beds at levels totally discontinuous from those of the latter wall, and, as before mentioned, is separated from it by a straight joint. It is, in fact, the end of the transept wall, which wall rests on the early-English crypt wall already described as closing the Norman crypt.

The two structures were therefore erected independently, and we have to determine which was built first.

* ["Or" in MS.]

But this problem is not so difficult a one as might be thought by a casual observer, for, in addition to the evidence existing in the structure itself, there are documents which make the investigation a tolerably simple one.

We are told that 'Richard de Eastgate, monk and sacrist [of Rochester], began the north aisle of the new work toward the gate of St. William, which brother Thomas de Mepeham nearly completed. Richard de Waldene, monk and sacrist, made the south aisle towards the court (*curia*). William de Hoo, sacrist, made the whole choir from the aforesaid aisles from the oblations to St. William,' afterwards being made prior.

The word *ala* in the above account must be interpreted 'transept,' a sense which it frequently bears.

The description of the position of these transepts, the north opposite to St. William's gate, and the south opposite the monastic *curia*, coincides with the western transepts and not with the eastern, for the south-eastern transept faces the cloister; the cathedral of Rochester having this peculiarity, that the cloister is to the south of the choir or eastern arm of the cross, and the outer court or *curia* of the monastery to the south of the nave.

The order of the masonry, as well as the progressive order of the architectural style, has shewn us that the order of the work was, firstly, the presbytery, choir, etc.; secondly, the north transept; and thirdly, the south transept, so that the above paragraph does not follow the order of time in appropriating the work to the three sacrists respectively. But the choir was entered in 1227, and therefore William de Hoo's work was then finished. The church also was dedicated thirteen years afterwards, in 1240, the year after William de Hoo was elected prior. The dedication shews that the church was completed at least as to its walls and roof, and therefore we must suppose that in the thirteen years which had elapsed since the entry into the choir in 1227 the transepts had been built and connected with the nave.* As these two

* As will be shewn in its place, there is every probability that the dedication in 1240 did not include the transepts, but only the new quire and presbytery.]

transepts were the work of two different sacrists, it follows that William de Hoo must have quitted that office at least thirteen years before he was made prior.

We have no specific mention of the commencement of the previous early-English work, namely, the crypt, presbytery, and eastern transept; but in the list of benefactions* we first find that prior Radulfus ‘roofed the great church and leaded the greater part of it’ (*fecit magnam ecclesiam tegere et plurimam partem plumbare*). Next it is stated that prior Helias, who

* [The following is the list of benefactions referred to so far as the church is concerned. I have collated it with the original in Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22 :

“Radulfus prior fecit magnam ecclesiam tegere et plurimam partem plumbare. (f. 89^b.)

Helyas prior fecit plumbare magnam ecclesiam ad novum opus ecclesie nunquam minus quam. xx^{li} libras sterlingorum, quam diu fuit sacrista in unoquoque anno ministravit. et officinas ad ecclesiam pertinentes bene servavit illesas. (f. 90.)

Heymericus de Tunebregge monachus in criptis fecit fenestram ad altare sancti Michaelis. et ad altare sancte Trinitatis.

Robertus de Langereche dedit calicem et casulam et alia plura ad altare sancte Katerine in criptis.

Robertus de Hecham dedit fenestram ad altare sancte Katerine et tabulam depictam ante et aliam super altare et de denariis ejus facte sunt due fenestre in fronte versus majus altare. (f. 90^b.)

Durandus Wisdom dedit unam fenestram in fronte versus majus altare et aliam in criptis.

Willelmus Potin dedit unam fenestram in fronte versus majus altare. (f. 91.)

Theodericus monachus acquisivit de quadam muliere de Hallinges unde fenestra et casula et alba parata et alia plura in criptis ad altare Sancte [Marie] Magdalene facta sunt. Item acquisivit medietatem unius fenestre in criptis contra Aluredum Cocum.

Domina Sediva de Favresham dedit novo operi. xxx solidos.

Justicia [sic] Anglie Hubertus de Burch dedit fenestram mediam ad sanctum Willelmum.

Aschetillus Dacus et Oliva uxor ejus dederunt ad novum opus. xl. solidos.

Petrus precentor quamdiu exercuit officium cantorie [sic] ad novum opus ecclesie nunquam minus quam xx^{li} solidos ministrabat.

Jacobus Salvage dedit novo operi ecclesie. (f. 91^b.)

(*Added later in the MS.*) Ricardus de Waldene monachus sacrista propriis manibus fecit trabem supra majus altare cum apostolis in eadem iuscisis. et Andrea supra stante. et Almarium cum Reliquijs et libro plures. (f. 92.)

(*Added further in the MS.*) Ricardus de Eastgate monachus et sacrista Roffensis incepit alam borialem novi operis versus portam beati Willelmi quam frater Thomas de Mepeham fere consummavit.

Ricardus de Waldene monachus et sacrista alam australem versus curiam.

Willelmus de Hoo sacrista fecit totum chorum a predictis alis de oblationibus sancti Willelmi.

Galfridus de Hadenham fecit altare Sancti Edmundi in criptis, etc.” (f. 92^b.)

These and other entries are also printed in Thorpe’s *Registrum Roffense*, pp. 122-125.]

succeeded him, 'leaded the great church' (*fecit plumbare magnam ecclesiam*), which statement probably means that he completed what his predecessor had begun; but it is also recorded that 'while he held the office of sacrist he never spent less than £20 sterling upon the *novum opus ecclesiæ*.' This is the first mention of the *novum opus*, a phrase which, as is well known, is always applied to some entirely new construction or enlargement of a church, and in this case plainly means the crypt and superstructure at the east. This view is confirmed by the particulars of donations and bequests by the contemporaries of Helias which follow this sentence, in which windows and altars in the crypt continually occur, as well as decorations of the high altar.

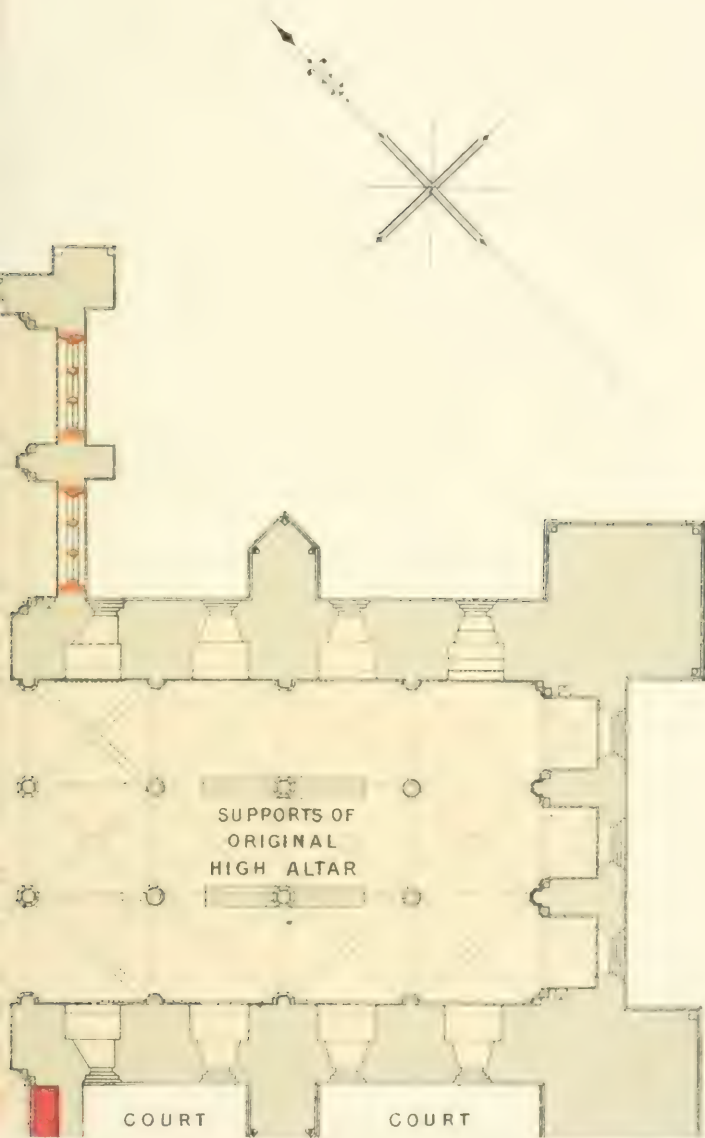
Unfortunately the exact period during which Helias was in office cannot be fixed with precision, but it is sufficient to know that he was an active supporter of work done at the very beginning of the thirteenth century.

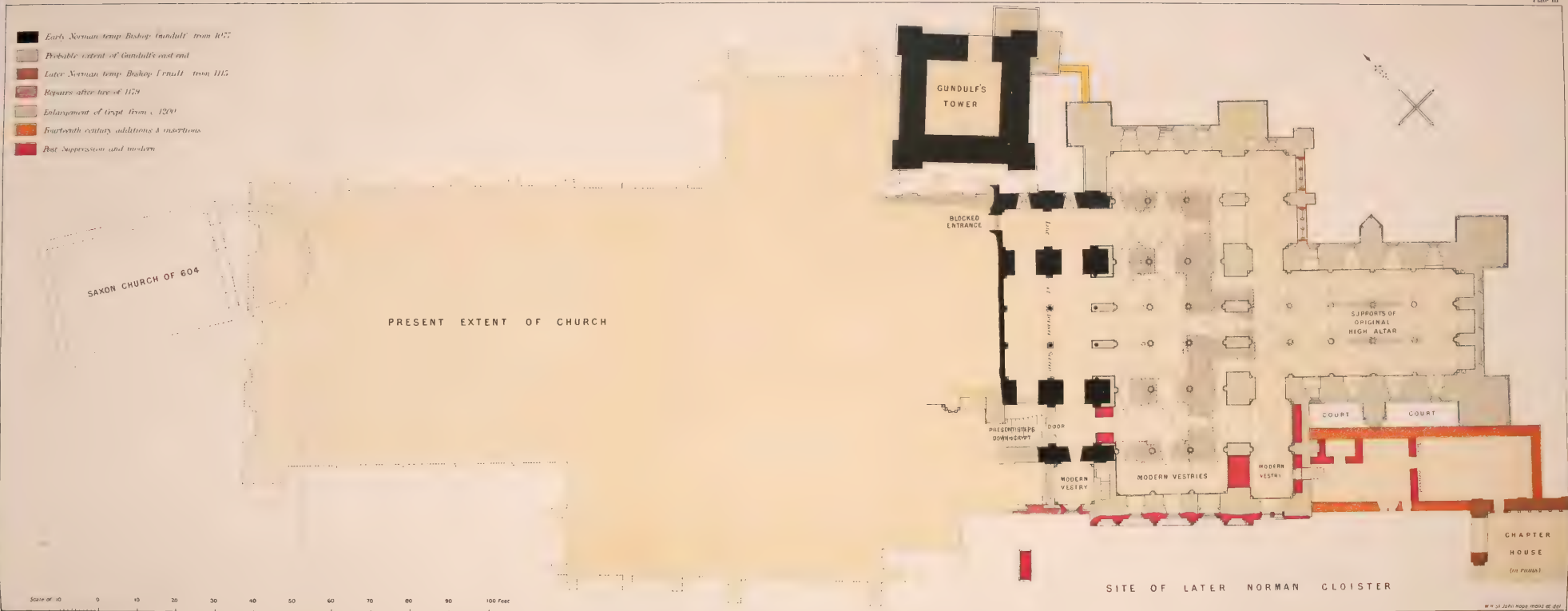
There can be no doubt from the architectural evidence which the church supplies that the building was erected in the order of (1) the crypt, presbytery, and eastern transept, (2) the choir and its aisles, (3) the north-west transept, and (4) the south-west transept, with the eastern part of the nave, by which the work was joined to the old cathedral."*

Before proceeding with the architectural history a few remarks are necessary on certain points not referred to by Professor Willis.

From differences observable in the masonry of the crypt piers it is evident that the western part of the new work was built up around the east end of the Norman presbytery, and a reference to the plan (PLATE III.) will shew plainly how this might be done. As soon as, however, the new work was sufficiently completed to carry its wooden roofs, the first two bays of the old presbytery, with the little eastern chapel, were taken down, and the transepts and crossing provided with floors by vaulting the crypt. The tomb of St. William was,

* Here Professor Willis's notes unfortunately end.





ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH PLAN OF CRYPT.

no doubt, then set up in the north-east transept,* where it seems to have remained until the destruction of the shrines by order of Henry VIII. There are differences of treatment in the upper parts of the walls of this transept, which may indicate that the place of the tomb was covered in before the other parts.

I have before suggested that the high altar of the Norman church stood in the third bay of the old presbytery. By beginning the new work where they did, instead of further west, the builders avoided interference with this, and, although it was necessary to build the great piers at the east end of the present quire, this was no doubt done as quickly as possible and the opening closed by a temporary partition. The old high altar could thus remain undisturbed until the new presbytery east of it was completed.

Both the presbytery and the eastern transepts are covered by sexpartite vaulting, with plainly moulded ribs, springing from shafts rising from the floor. The vault has no wall or longitudinal ribs, and not any bosses.

The new work must have been finished, or at any rate roofed in, by 1214, for in that year bishop Gilbert of Glanville died, and was buried on the north side of the new presbytery, where the tomb attributed to him still remains. A peculiarity of the new presbytery is the division of its lower stage into a series of tall arched recesses, of which there are three at the east end and four on each side. (FIG. 15.) In these the windows are pierced. The effect, however, from the west is that of a series of pier arches opening into north and south aisles. The side recesses thus formed seem to have been built to hold tombs, for the Rochester chronicler, who loved not bishop Gilbert on account of certain quarrels he had with his monks, describes his burial "on the north part of the aforesaid church, a confounder among the founders, as Saul among the prophets,"† and his tomb for a long time actually filled the place of honour usually given to a founder

* Its position in the north-east transept is fixed by the record of bishop Walter of Merton's burial in 1278, "in parte boreali juxta sepulchrum sancti Willelmi." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 179.

† "Sepultus a parte boreali predictæ basilice inter fundatores confundator sicut Saul inter prophetas." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 127^b.

at the north end of the high altar. Four of the side recesses still contain tombs, and in a fifth are placed the sedilia.

Owing to the existence of chambers over the aisles of the

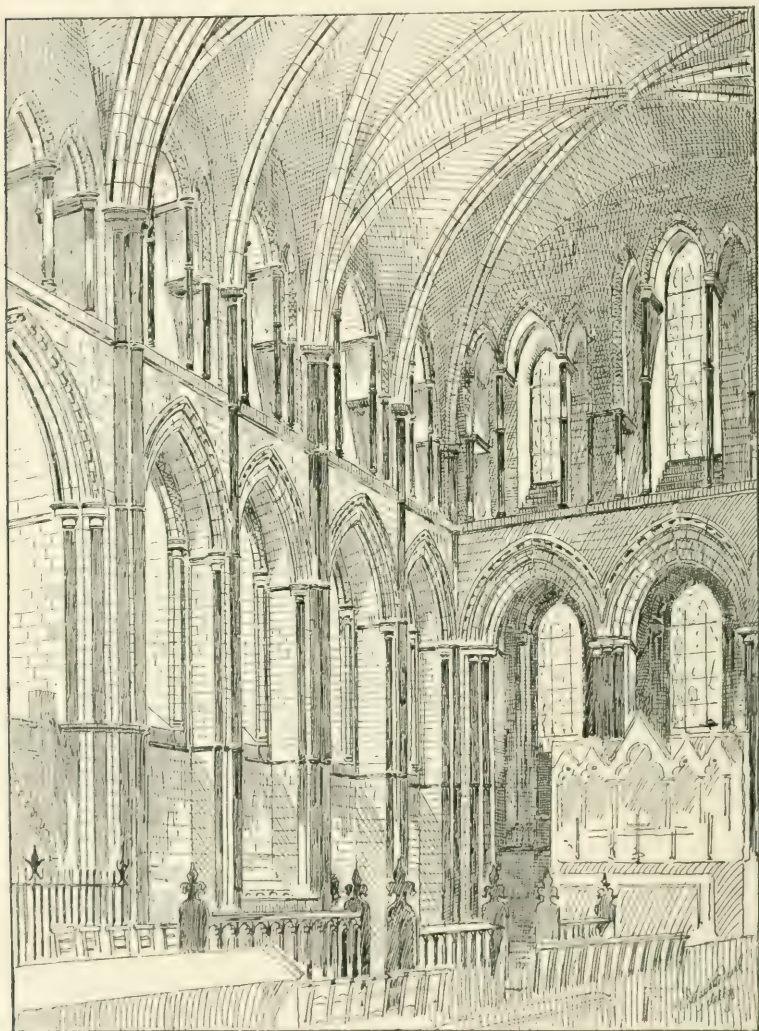


FIG. 15.—THE PRESBYTERY, LOOKING EAST.

eastern transepts these have no clerestory windows in the east wall, and their place is taken by a triforium or wall gallery with a row of arches in front carried by marble shafts and

cross lintels, and decorated with the dog-tooth ornament. These are well shewn in Fig. 16, which also illustrates the other features of this part of the church.

The completion of the presbytery is marked by an added record in the list of benefactions that "Richard of Walden, monk and sacrist, made the bell called Andrew, which cost 80 marks, and with his own hands made the beam above the high altar, with the apostles graven upon it and Andrew standing above, and the cupboard (*almarium*) with the relics and divers books." The high altar, as may be seen from the supports for its reredos which are built up in the crypt, was placed in the centre of the presbytery between bishop Gilbert's tomb and the sedilia. The relic cupboard probably stood in the recess west of the bishop's tomb. Unfortunately we do not know during what period Richard of Walden was sacrist, but he was still holding that office when he rebuilt the south-west transept during the latter part of the thirteenth century.

It may here be noted that before the new work had been carried up very far some change was evidently made in the design. This is well seen in the external turrets and buttresses, which have bases for angle shafts that were never built, and the upper parts are awkwardly finished off.

The completion of the new work, in whatever year it took place, enabled the monks to transfer their services into it while they set about the reconstruction of the Norman quire, which had remained until now in a style corresponding with the work east of it. As the new quire was paid for out of the offerings at the tomb of St. William, some little time must have elapsed before these had sufficiently accumulated to enable the work to be begun, and this is shewn by certain differences in the styles of the quire and presbytery. In place of the coarse workmanship and extravagant use of clumsy marble columns that characterize the eastern transepts and presbytery, the work of the new quire is better and of superior design.

It had evidently been the intention of the builders of the eastern crossing eventually to rebuild the quire with arcades opening into the aisles. William of Hoo, however, retained the Norman side walls, but refaced their lower parts with

plain ashlar up to the first string-course, and above that with a blind arcade* ranging with the arches of the presbytery and transepts. The arches of this rest upon slender marble

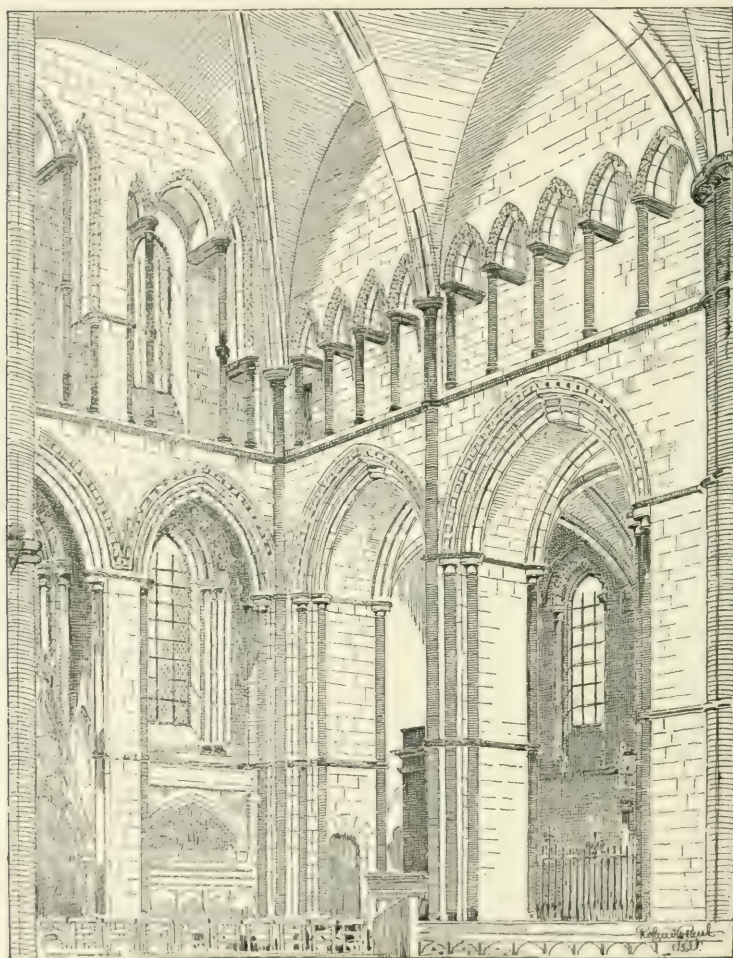


FIG. 16.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE NORTH-EAST TRANSEPT.

shafts, and are ornamented, like the work eastwards, with the billet moulding. They are arranged in pairs, one to each

* This arcade may represent a Norman one in the same position.

bay, and have carved leafwork at the junction of the twin arches, but in the easternmost bay the great piers of the earlier work have left room for a single arch only on each side. The vaulting shafts of the quire do not come down to the floor, but rest upon carved marble brackets at the level of the first string-course, so as not to interfere with the monks' stalls. The clerestory of the quire is a continuation of that east of it, but the windows are higher and wider, and have not any connecting string-course externally. The features here noted are well shewn in FIG. 17.

As pointed out by Professor Willis in his description of the crypt, the floor levels of the new work differed considerably from those of the work westward. Taking the level of the Norman presbytery, which is fixed by the crypt beneath it, as datum, the floor of the eastern transepts was three steps higher. At the entrance of the presbytery was another step (*gradus presbiterii*), which was also carried across the arches opening into the transept aisles to form platforms for altars there. The high altar had a platform of its own. In the new quire the old presbytery floor, which occupied its eastern half, was extended westwards as far as the quire screen or *pulpitum*, where a flight of ten steps gave access to or from the nave.

Before the upper works of the quire were completed it became necessary to provide proper abutments (1) for its vault, and (2) for the great arch at its western end, the piers for which were already built or in course of construction. Like the presbytery and eastern transepts, the quire is covered with a sexpartite vault, but unlike the vaults east of it this has the dog-tooth ornament along the ribs and carved bosses at the intersections. To carry the thrust of the vault in the middle of the quire a flying buttress was thrown over the north aisle from a large buttress built against it. On the south the greater width of the aisle and the existence of the cloister forbade such an arrangement; the difficulty was therefore met by building a buttress in the aisle against the quire wall. This explains the singular projecting mass seen at the top of the present steps down to the crypt.

The course of the work at the western end of the quire is

by no means easy to follow. Preparations for the abutment of the great arch had apparently been begun while the new quire was in building, but by a different architect or master

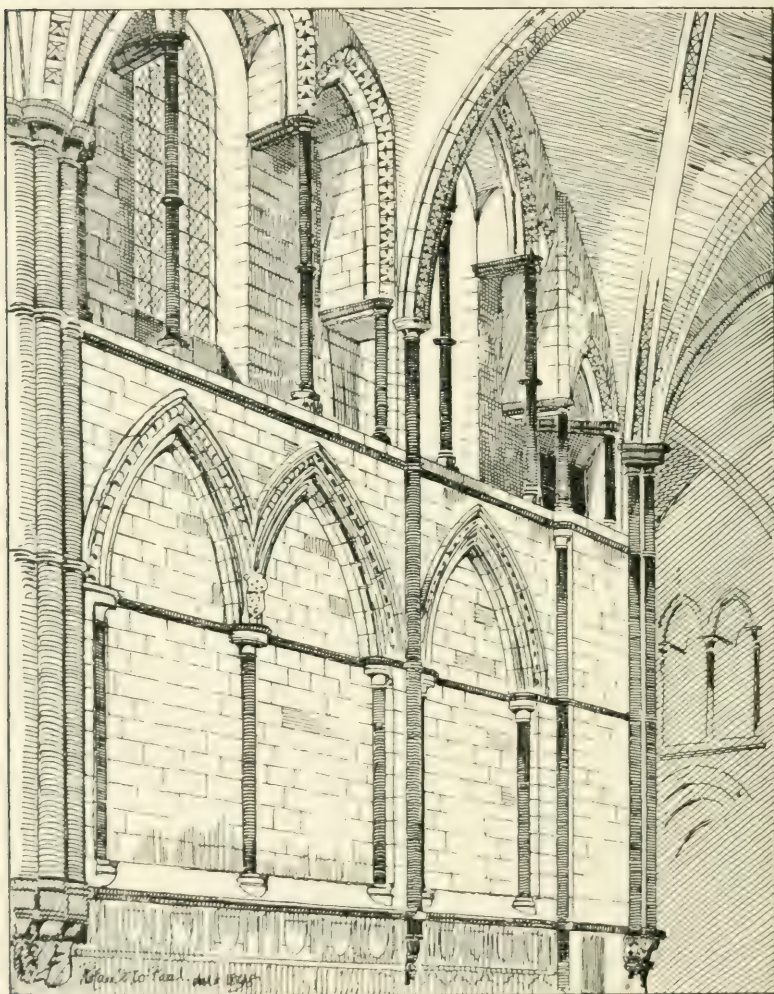


FIG. 17.

PART OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE QUIRE, AS BUILT BY WILLIAM OF HOO.

mason. His work is characterized not only by a distinct advance in the base mouldings upon those of the presbytery and quire, but by the abandonment of marble, a material

used only for the uppermost member of the capitals of his piers, which are otherwise of stone throughout.

The work in question included the lower parts of the responds of new arches opening from the transepts into the quire aisles. By continuing these round so as to join those of the great quire arch, a beginning was also made of another important work, the building of a central tower.* The new responds at the entrance of the quire aisles were completed and the arches built by William of Hoo or his architect, together with one bay of the clerestory of the transept on either side.†

The chronological position of the responds of the aisle arches between the beginning of the quire and the completion of its clerestory, etc. is well shewn by the accompanying diagram (FIG. 18) of the plan of the north pier at the west end of the quire. The portion representing the work of William of Hoo has marble shafts and bases (A A A A),‡ of which the latter have the section shewn in FIG. 19. In the portion representing the bases of the aisle arch and the central tower respond the whole of the bases and shafts are of stone instead of marble, and the bases have the section shewn in FIG. 20. Bases B B are on the same level as A—A, but the bases C—C are 6 feet 10 inches lower, and stand upon a bench-table 2 feet 5½ inches high, which rests upon the transept floor. To the probable reason for this difference in height between bases B B and C—C I shall refer presently. The pier on the south side of the quire shews the same features, but with some slight variations. Of the same date as the bases B—C is the respond in the north wall of the south aisle of the quire of an arch which once spanned the space

* In my former essay on the architectural history I suggested as an explanation of certain difficulties in the chronology of the quire aisles, that the bases of the four tower piers and of the arches into the quire aisles were laid before the building of the new quire and presbytery. But recent alterations to the stone screen at the entrance of the quire have revealed evidence, which before was hidden, that the actual course of events was as described above. For particulars of this discovery I am indebted to the Rev. G. M. Livett, who made careful notes and measurements before the work was again covered up.

† In the north transept this clerestory bay remains almost unaltered; in the south transept it has all been removed except the northern respond.

‡ These are also shewn in FIGS. 11 and 12, *ante*.

between the quire and Gundulf's south tower. The changes here will be described below.

To the works just described belong the massive buttresses added at the north-east angle of Gundulf's great tower.

The new quire was finished and used for the first time in 1227.*

The reconstruction of the quire aisles was effected in a very different way in the case of the south aisle from that of its fellow.

In the Norman church, at any rate in Gundulf's time, the

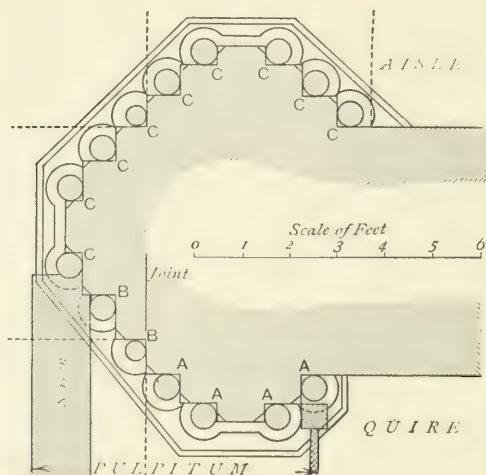


FIG. 18.—PLAN OF NORTH-EAST PIER OF CENTRAL TOWER.

south aisle, like the north, was merely a passage, part of its outer wall being also the wall of the south tower; but at the beginning of the thirteenth century it was doubled in width east of the tower.

It has already been stated that bishop Ernulf built the dorter, chapter-house, and frater. These formed the east and south sides of a new cloister laid out, immediately to the east of Gundulf's monastic buildings, on the south side of the

* "M^{CC}XXVII". Introitus in novum chorum Roffensem." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 133.

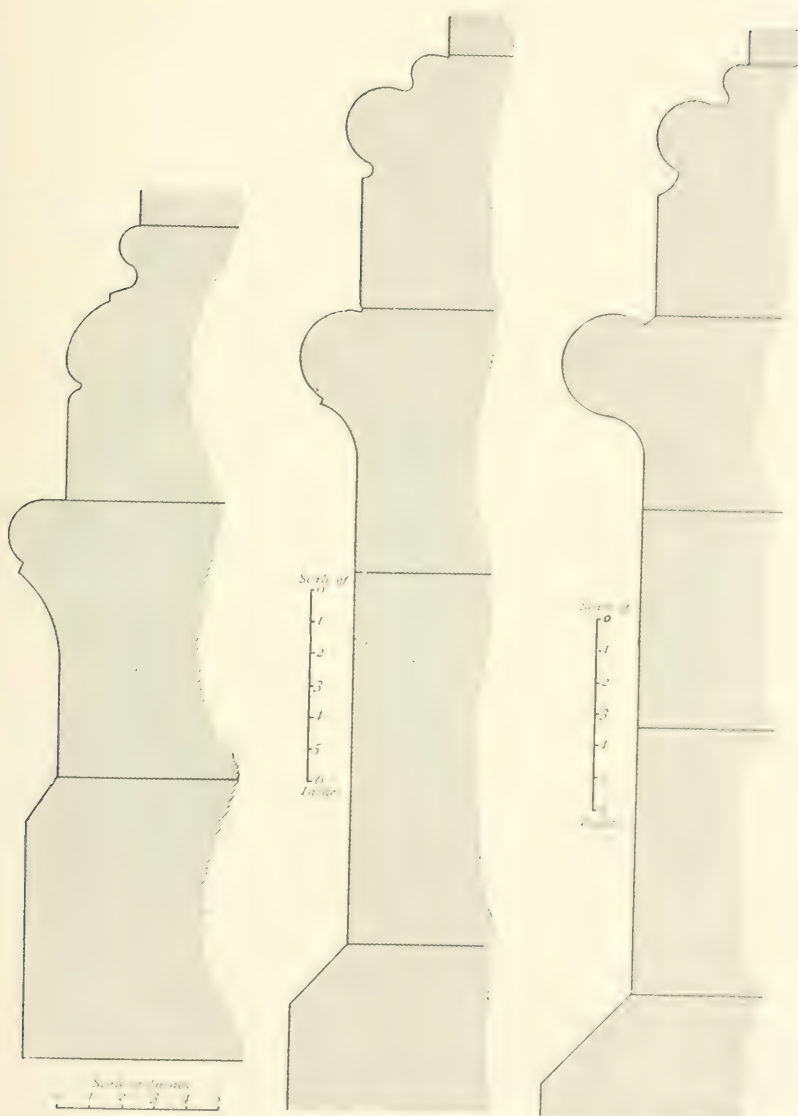


FIG. 19.

FIG. 20.

FIG. 22.

SECTIONS OF THE BASES OF THE QUIRE ARCH, TOWER PIERS,
AND QUIRE AISLES.

presbytery. The eastern arm of the church was at this time only half as long as the side of the new cloister (which was about 130 feet square), and the additional length needed for the latter, had it abutted against the church, could only have been obtained by building a wall eastwards from the south-east corner of the presbytery. But for some reason, perhaps to avoid blocking the southern windows of the crypt, Ernulf's cloister did not extend up to the church, but was closed on the north side by a wall 12 feet distant from it.* The space thus left probably served as a passage to the monks' cemetery at the east end of the presbytery, and across its west end was the only way, at that time, from the cloister to the church. In the course of the new works of the presbytery and quire, the passage having been effectually blocked by the building of the eastern transept across it, the part which was left between the latter and the south tower was taken into the quire aisle, which thus became doubled in width, with arches opening into it from the eastern transept. (See FIG. 28, p. 266.) It was evidently intended to convert this enlarged section into a lofty vestibule, vaulted in four large compartments springing from a central column. Next to the quire transept may be seen part of its south wall, with one of the windows, built upon the older cloister wall; and on the north and east sides are the vaulting shafts prepared for the vault. (FIG. 28.) The wall ribs, ornamented with the billet moulding, also exist, but can only be seen above the present ceiling. The aisle having been widened as described, the two staircases in its former width were taken away and replaced, the one by a new staircase and doorway to the undercroft built in the westernmost bay of the crypt-aisle, the other by a new and broad flight of steps up to the presbytery placed further east.

The arches at each end of the narrow western part of the aisle, between the quire and Gundulf's south tower, were built, as stated above, by the director of the works at the entrance of the quire aisles.

The north quire aisle, which, as already suggested, had

* The wall now existing on this line appears to date from repairs necessitated by the fire of 1179, and contains a number of interesting features which will be noticed in the description of the cloister.

probably been rebuilt after the fire of 1138, had lately become the way for pilgrims to approach St. William's shrine. The two staircases in its width leading, the one to the crypt, the other to the upper church, had therefore now become inconveniently narrow. That to the crypt was accordingly done away with, and the stair of ascent to the shrine carried right across the aisle.* A stone bench was then built along each side, and shafts added for a stone vault, but this does not seem to have been put on. The bench and shafts are the work of the same architect who began the responds of the quire aisle arches and of the tower piers adjoining them, but the bases of the shafts differ slightly from those of the arches and have the section shewn in Fig. 21.



FIG. 21. SECTION OF BASES OF VAULTING SHAFTS IN NORTH QUIRE AISLE.

To the same architect must also be attributed the western bases of the north and south arches of the projected central tower (and perhaps those of its western arch, together with those of the arch into the north aisle of the nave, and one side of that into the south aisle. These bases, which are also of stone, though some are painted to imitate marble, at first sight appear to be identical with those on the eastern side of the crossing. On comparison, however, a slight difference of section will be noticed both in the bases† and the bench-tables or plinths on which they stand. (See Fig. 22.) As the bases of the eastern respond of the south tower arch, and one of the bases of the arch into the south quire aisle have the same section as these western bases, too much importance need not be attached to so slight a variation, but the difference between the plinths is very distinct, as well as the number of courses of which they are built. (See Figs. 20 and 22.)‡

* These steps still remain, but in consequence of their worn condition they are now covered with wood.

† In the earlier bases (see Fig. 20) the roll slightly overhangs the lower vertical member; in the later bases (see Fig. 22) the roll is flush with this.

‡ I have to thank Mr. Livett for pointing out to me these features.

The differences referred to clearly indicate a pause in the building operations, perhaps necessitated by the clearing away of the old quire arrangements in the nave, and the construction of the new wooden *pulpitum* and its platform, and a new rood-screen on the line of the new bases west of it. As will be seen below a further interval must have elapsed between the laying of the bases and the final carrying up of the piers and arches that stand upon them.

The new works were so far advanced towards completion that in 1240 "the church of Rochester was dedicated by Dan R(ichard of Wendover), bishop of the same place, and by the bishop of Bangor on the nones (5th) of November."*

As soon after the completion of the presbytery and quire as funds permitted, the great north transept was taken in hand. There is no evidence of any alteration having been made to this part of the church since Gundulf built it, and it is more than probable that his work had remained intact until now, especially if we consider that the rebuilders of the south transept after the fire of 1179 thought fit to retain the original width. The lines of the new work were set out according to the bases of the tower piers laid down some time before, and thus, while retaining the original length, the transept now became doubled in width.

Although the height and division of the work into two stages had already been fixed by the arch into the north quire aisle and the beginning of the clerestory on the east side, the builder of this transept, Richard of Eastgate, was in other respects unhampered, and the design of his work shews a marked advance upon that of the presbytery. (Figs. 23 and 24.)

The transept is divided into two bays by the vaulting shafts, which rise from the floor. On the east (see FIG. 23) the space south of the vaulting shaft is mostly taken up by William of Hoo's arch into the quire aisle, the plainness of which is relieved by bold dog-tooth ornament in the soffit. The remaining space is occupied by a shallow recess with pointed arch carried

* "Eodem anno (1240) dedicata est ecclesia Roffensis a domino R. episcopo ejusdem loci et episcopo de Bangor Nonis Novembris." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 141^b.

by marble shafts, above which is a lancet window, now blocked, with moulded rear arch, also carried by marble shafts. The space north of the vaulting shaft is filled by a wide pointed arch opening into the space between the transept and Gundulf's north tower, which has been vaulted over and converted into a recess for an altar. The arch has an outer and an inner order, with a plain soffit between, and originally had marble jamb shafts, of which only the capitals remain. The recess has a plain pointed vault with wall ribs only, and is lighted by a low square-headed window on the north, set in a tall recess with moulded arch (of which the sides are nearly straight) carried by stone jamb shafts with foliated capitals.* The recess has a Purbeck marble step at the entrance, on which formerly stood a screen, probably of stone. In the east wall is a drain and cruet-shelf of good design, with marble side shafts, and 10 feet up are two stone corbels. The north side of the transept is practically in two divisions below the clerestory. The lower contains a doorway, which has a pointed segmental rear arch with marble jamb shafts, and two recesses similar to that next the quire aisle, but wider. Above are three lancet windows with moulded rear arches of two orders, also with marble shafts. On the west side, to the north of the vaulting shaft, are two like windows with arched recesses under them. (FIG. 24.) Beyond this the arrangement of the east side is reproduced, but the arch into the nave aisle is of loftier proportions than that opposite, and was built in view of another scheme presently to be noticed, which was eventually abandoned. The carrying up to its full height of the north-west pier of the crossing, the bases of which had already been laid, was of course included in the building of the west side of the transept. The clerestory on this west side consists of four lancet windows, two in each bay, with an open screen or arcade in front of the wall passage. This is composed in each division of a triple arch enriched with the dog-tooth ornament, carried by two detached shafts and responds, all of marble. The sides of the central opening are carried up vertically as far as the enclosing arch with rather

* With the exception of a later example in the nave these are the only foliated capitals in the church.

curious effect. The eastern clerestory resembles the western, but above the altar recess there are no windows, owing to the presence of the north tower outside, and the blind wall is

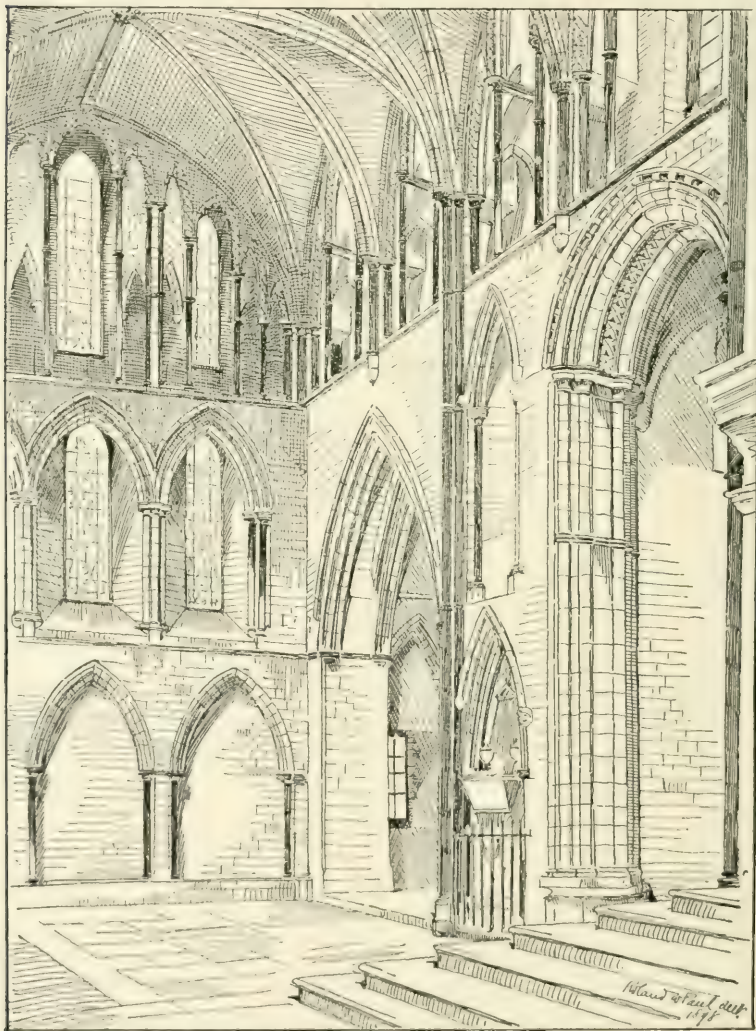


FIG. 23.—EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

plainly arcaded. The division next to the quire is William of Hoo's work, but the head of the central opening has been

altered to accord with the later design. The north wall had three clerestory windows, of which the central one is higher than the rest. In front of the wall passage is a screen in continuation of that on the east and west, but with arches of graduated height. All the shafts of Richard of Eastgate's work throughout the transept, as well as their capitals and bases, are of marble.

Almost the whole of the external ashlar work of the north transept was renewed by Sir G. Gilbert Scott during the late repairs, but on the old lines, so far as they could be recovered. For quite a century previously the outside had been more or less of a ruin, and nearly all the western windows were blocked up.* In both stages these windows form openings in a wall arcade extending from buttress to buttress. The north front has in its lowest stage a good but plain doorway of two orders, with jamb shafts. Above this are the three lancet windows, which appear as part of an arcade of seven pointed arches carried by detached shafts, and alternately blind and pierced. Over these are the three clerestory windows, which are also set in an arcade. The window openings are in every case wider and higher than the blind arches. In the view of the church published by Thorpe in the *Custumale Roffense* in 1788, the north transept is shewn with its original high-pitched roof, the gable of which is seen in King's north view (published in the first edition of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*) to be pierced with three circular windows.† But in Storer's print, dated 1816,‡ and Coney's drawing in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*,§ the old roof is replaced by one of low pitch, with a nondescript gable. This was taken away by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, who restored the high roof

* See plate xxxv. p. 155, in Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, and later views shewing this part of the church; also FIG. 7, p. 225, *ante*.

† Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), i. 28. These are also shewn in the large north-west view published by John Buckler in 1810, and in similar but smaller views published by J. C. Buckler in 1818 in his *Views of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (London, 1822).

‡ James Storer, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain* (London, 1819), vol. iv.

§ Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel (London, 1817), i. 153.

with its triple-eyed gable, and added the present flanking pinnacles.

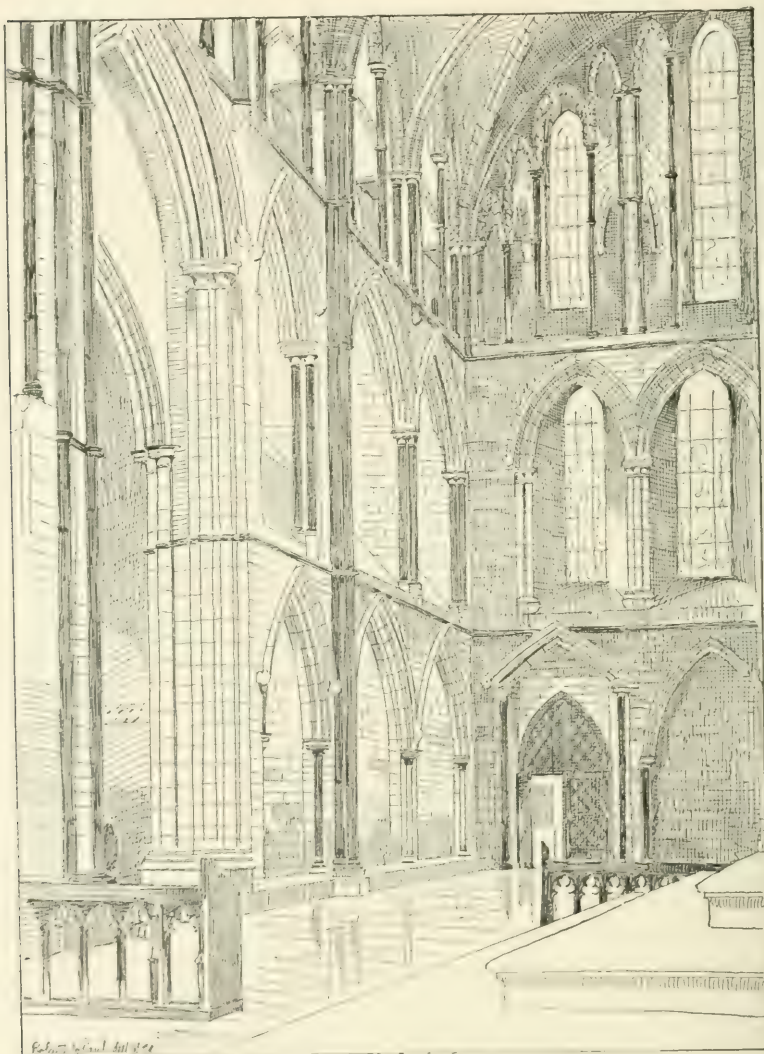


FIG. 24.—WEST SIDE OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

Concerning the date of the north transept we have the statement that it was begun by Richard of Eastgate,

monk and sacrist, and "almost finished" by brother Thomas of Meopham. William of Hoo, the sacrist under whose direction the quire was built, became prior in 1239. Richard of Eastgate seems to have succeeded him, but we have no record of his term of office. Thomas of Meopham, whose name is associated with the work, is merely described as "brother." His share must therefore have been done before 1255, as in that year we first find him described as sacrist.* As the new quire was ready for use in 1227, the work of the north transept may well lie between 1240 and 1255.

Although preparations had been made from the first to vault the north transept, this could not yet be done, inasmuch as the arch to the crossing had not been built. The eastern arch was already in place, owing to its having formed part of the work of William of Hoo's quire, as was also the north-east pier, and the north-west pier had now been completed by the builders of the transept, but the south-west one had only been begun.

Before any attempt was made to complete the crossing and build the arches, the beginning was made of a more serious undertaking, which fortunately was never carried out, namely, the reconstruction of the nave. It had evidently been intended to rebuild this entirely, but with narrower and loftier aisles, for the blocked lancet window on the west side of the north transept abuts directly upon the Norman wall, and the arch beside it, as has been already stated, is of unusual height. This further work was a continuation of that in the north transept, and by the same architect.

In order to form a proper abutment for the proposed central tower the first two bays of the Norman work on each side, that is, the arches, triforium, and clerestory, were taken down, and the bases laid of two new arches in their place. More than half of the first bay on the north side was then filled by a solid buttress against the new tower pier, now plain towards the nave, but with a moulded arch of

* Adam occurs as sacrist in 1254 (Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 99, and Thomas of Meopham in 1255 (*Ibid.* 64).

construction on the aisle side with marble jamb shafts. But a serious check occurred in the middle of the work, and after the responds and piers of the first bay had been built on each side the work came to a standstill. The work was resumed after a short pause, but by a new architect, who carried up the second pair of piers in an entirely different manner, although on the same plan, and built the two arches on each side that still remain. (See Figs. 25 and 31.) He also made preparations for vaulting the nave aisles, but only the springers for this were put in. With the new arches, which are taller than the old arcade, was probably built a clerestory, but this disappeared with the rest of the Norman one in the fifteenth century.

The work of the new architect, who was evidently the same that rebuilt the south transept, is distinguished from his predecessor's by the abandonment of marble shafts. In the first bay of the nave the shafts are detached and of marble, but those of the second bay are worked out of the pier, and of stone, now painted in imitation of marble. The older work is also distinctly early-English, but the newer in its style and mouldings is essentially Decorated.

Following upon these alterations in the nave the work was carried round into the south transept, which was thus begun to be altered to correspond with the north one. It had apparently been reconstructed in part on the old lines after the fire of 1179, but was now doubled in width by building a new west wall and lengthening the south wall to meet it. The old west wall and the upper parts of the south were then taken down, and a series of tall arched recesses, suggested evidently by those in the presbytery, built round the sides, two on the west and three on the south pierced with windows, and two on the east to form recesses for altars. Owing to the lower level of the floor as compared with that of the presbytery, these arches do not extend as high as the clerestory string-course, which ranges with that in the eastern part of the church. The work of the transept included the carrying up of the fourth or south-west pier of the crossing, and the building of the north, west, and south arches of a central tower.

The latter work was probably followed by the vaulting of the north transept. This vault is octopartite, and of two bays, with longitudinal, transverse, diagonal, and wall ribs. The diagonal ribs and the central transverse rib spring from



FIG. 25.—ALTERATIONS, AND JUNCTIONS OF NEW AND OLD WORK, IN THE ARCADE ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE NAVE.

marble shafts starting from the floor;* the other transverse ribs spring from short marble shafts resting on carved heads

* Where these diagonal and transverse ribs meet between the three main divisions of the vault, the vaulting shafts form a triple group rising from the floor.

fixed just below the clerestory string-course. At the intersection of the ribs are carved bosses.

The general design of the south transept, which was built under the direction of Richard of Walden, the sacrist, is distinctly inferior to Richard of Eastgate's work in the opposite wing. The design is in fact not new at all, but merely an adaptation of that of the presbytery, modified only as regards detail. The three original windows which remain on the south side of the lower stage shew an advance upon the lancets of the north transept. They are of simple character, consisting of two pointed lights beneath a containing arch, with the spandrel above the dividing mullion completely pierced. The transept is divided into three bays by the vaulting shafts, but only those of one division now rest on the floor. In its original state the arrangement of the walls below the clerestory was simple enough. On the east the first or northernmost bay contained William of Hoo's arch into the quire aisle, and in each of the other two bays was a lofty altar recess. On the west the arrangement was the same, but the arch into the nave aisle is Richard of Walden's work, and the two recesses had windows in them. The south side, as already noted, had three arched recesses with windows therein, which remain unaltered.

The clerestory, unlike that of the north transept, which is practically all of one date and a continuation of the work below, is here of at least two dates. The windows also are wider and differently treated, owing to there being three bays instead of the two subdivided bays of the north transept. On the west each window is composed of two wide lancets with a quatrefoil above. This feature is repeated in an ugly and exaggerated form in the screen in front of the wall passage, the mullion being represented by a banded marble shaft surmounted by a lozenge pierced with a quatrefoil. The containing arch is simply moulded, and rests on short marble responds. (FIG. 26.) The southern clerestory, which is of the same date as the west, consists of five graduated lancets, with a plain screen in front composed of as many simple pointed arches carried by marble shafts; the spandrels, however, have not any quatrefoil openings, but are entirely

pierced. The eastern clerestory is different from either of the others. Its windows are each of two pointed trefoiled lights, with a large quatrefoil with pointed ends pierced through the head.* (Fig. 27.) The screen in front of the wall passage is formed in each bay by subdividing the wide drop arch by tall and slender marble shafts into a large central and two narrow side openings, enriched with the dog-tooth ornament. It is possible that this screen is the original one designed for the transept, especially as it continues the dog-tooth ornament so lavishly used in the north transept.

Externally the lower stage, both on the east and west sides of the transept, is covered by buildings, and the clerestory windows, which have been already described, are the only visible features. The south end, being towards the outer court of the monastery, contains merely the window openings.† In the lower range these have two orders of mouldings with jamb shafts. The gable is entirely modern, having been rebuilt by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, who also added the flanking pinnacles, in imitation of the old design figured by Thorpe in the *Customale Roffense*.‡ This was ornamented with a transverse band of flint checker work, interrupted by

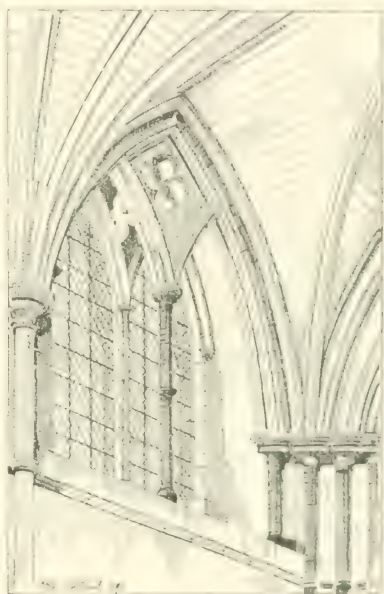


FIG. 26. CLERESTORY OF THE SOUTH TRANSEPT, WEST SIDE.

* In Storer's plate of the S.E. view of the church the northernmost window is shown blocked up; the next has a dividing mullion only, and no tracery; and the third is walled up and pierced with a lancet.

† These windows are placed as high up as possible on account of the monastery buildings outside (see Plan).

‡ Plate xxxix. p. 165.

three panels with shields of arms, with an inlaid cross of the same material above, and in the apex a sculptured bust, apparently of Our Lord. This last has been replaced in the new gable. The shields seem to have borne (1) three crowns in pale, (2) the saltire and escallop shell of the church of Rochester, and (3) a cross. The old gable was taken down in the early part of this century and replaced by a lower one of

debased classical character, flanked by pedestals on the tops of the buttresses;* this in turn was removed by Sir G. Gilbert Scott.

Shortly after the rebuilding of the south transept, sundry alterations were made in and around it. The two arches in its east side were replaced by one of twice their span, built with the old voussoirs, and resting on shafts made out of the pier that formerly divided the two. A recess was thus formed for one important altar, similar to that in the north transept, which no doubt suggested it.† Gundulf's south tower was next razed to the ground, and the quire aisle



FIG. 27.—CLERESTORY OF THE SOUTH TRANSEPT, EAST SIDE.

wall continued westwards over its site up to the transept. In place of the southern half of the tower a vestry was built with a door from the transept, and the rest of its area was thrown

* See two views, dated 1816, in James Storer's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain* (London, 1819), vol. iv.

† These alterations are probably referred to in a grant of 1322 to the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which stood in this transept, "in Capella ejusdem . . . de novo constructa." Thorpe, *Registrum Rossense*, 546. The *Costumale Rossense* (ed. Thorpe, 13), compiled circa 1305, mentions "altare beate Marie in novo opere."

into the aisle, which thus attained its present dimensions. The singular lop-sided wooden ceiling dates from this enlargement, as does the upper half of the outer wall of the aisle with the lancet windows in it. These lancets have Decorated mouldings. The various features of the aisle are shewn in Figs. 28 and 29. The removal of the south tower seems to have put an end to the scheme of a vaulted vestibule described above. So long as this tower was standing there could have been no clerestory windows on the east side of the transept save that next the quire which had been already built by William of Hoo. This window was now enlarged to match two other new ones which were inserted after the removal of the tower, but it is somewhat shorter than they owing to its sill being placed higher to clear the aisle roof. The arches of these windows are of two orders, with engaged jamb shafts; their tracery is all new, but is copied from the remains of the old disclosed when the clerestory was restored by Sir G. Gilbert Scott.

Following upon the reconstruction of its clerestory, the south transept was now vaulted. It had been intended to have a stone vault, but this was abandoned, and the present vaulted ceiling of wood set up instead. The springers for the stone vault, which remain, shew that the ribs were to have been of different curvature from that of the wooden ones. This vault is in three bays, and octopartite, with longitudinal, diagonal, and transverse ribs. It has also wall ribs, but these are of stone and coeval with the springers. Each bay has also an additional horizontal transverse rib along the apex of the groin, but this is very slight and merely covers the junctions of the boarding. The vaulting shafts, which are single, and of marble, originally started from the floor, but those between the second and third bays were shortened up after the arched recesses were altered, and now rest upon corbels under the clerestory string. It should be noticed that these vaulting shafts are the only shafts of marble in the transept. The others are all of stone and part of the wall, like the second pier in the nave, but have Purbeck marble capitals and bases.

It seems from an extra shaft still to be seen in the south-east angle of the south aisle that a series of arches like these

first built round the transept was to have been carried down the aisle also, but all other traces of this scheme have disappeared through a later alteration.

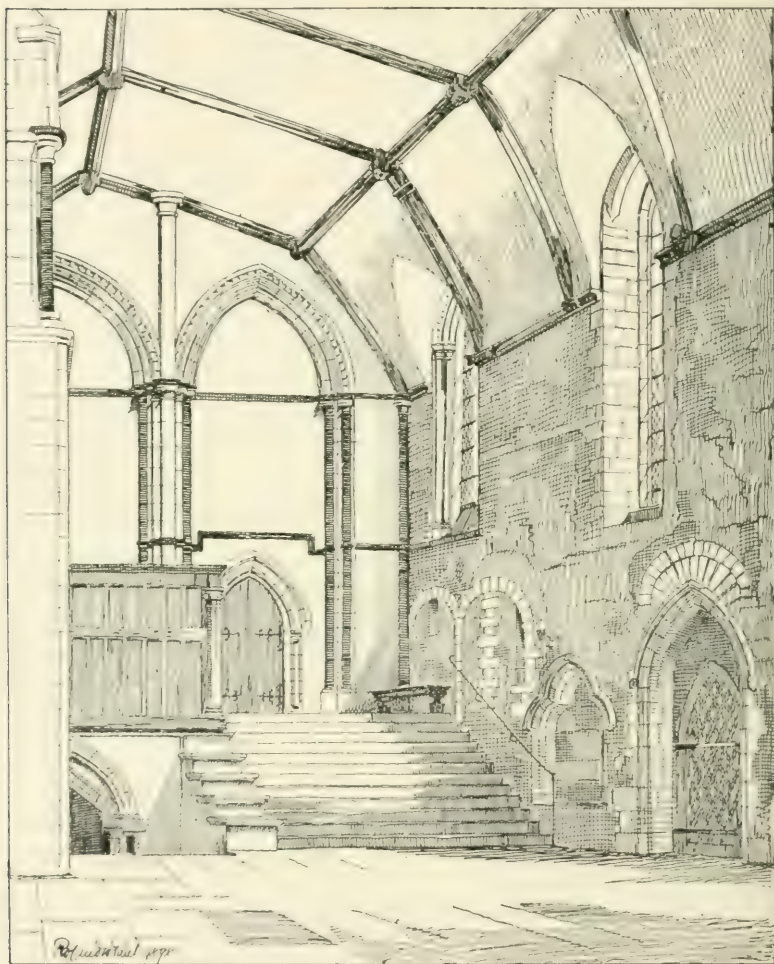


FIG. 28 —SOUTH AISLE OF THE QUIRE IN ITS FINAL AND PRESENT STATE,
LOOKING EAST.

The greater part of the church having now been reconstructed on a new and enlarged plan, the erection of its permanent divisions was proceeded with. These were rendered

necessary (i.) for separating the more public portions from the quire and presbytery, etc., and (ii.) by the existence of the shrines and other valuable ornaments in the eastern part of the church.

In connexion with this work were included measures for securing the stability of part of the south quire transept,



FIG. 29. THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE QUIRE, LOOKING WEST.
SHEWING THE WOODEN CEILING, ETC.

which seems to have given way to an extent that caused great alarm. From the absence of buttresses on the south side of this transept, owing to the position of the cloister there, this part of the church has been a source of anxiety to its custodians from the first.* By the time in question, which

* Storer, in his *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (London, 1819), vol. iv., shews this transept in a plate, dated 1816, as supported by two huge raking buttresses.

was not much more than a century after its building, the south wall had settled outwards to such an extent as to necessitate the entire reconstruction of its vault and of parts of the upper works as well.* On the aisle side of the west wall the group of shafts between the two arches, which had been built for the vaulting of the projected vestibule, were rebuilt in ashlar, with the old marble bases and capitals,† and continued upwards to the wooden ceiling. Possibly the early-Decorated part of the aisle wall‡ and the ceiling itself belong to the repairs consequent upon this serious settlement.

The first of the permanent divisions to be noticed is no longer in its place. It was a stone wall or screen with central door, built in the arch from the south transept to the south quire aisle,§ but was taken down early in this century and rebuilt in the southern of the two arches on the west side of the south-east transept, where it still remains. Of the same date as this screen is a small doorway in the west wall of the south quire aisle. It is pierced through the thin wall behind the south transept altar (see Plan), and as its sill is 16 inches from the floor, it evidently opened upon the altar platform. The sacrist and others were thus enabled to approach the altar without using the larger door into the transept. The existence of this doorway suggests that part of the transept itself was screened or walled off from the rest, and as will be seen below, there is strong probability that this was the case.

The second of the permanent divisions is a screen similar to that described above, built across the middle of the north quire aisle at the head of the steps there. It was so placed, instead of in the arch from the transept, to leave a way into

* I am indebted to the Rev. G. M. Livett, M.A., for calling my attention to this fact.

† The marble band midway belongs to the rebuilt work.

‡ The condition of this aisle wall became so threatening in recent years that Sir G. Gilbert Scott advised its rebuilding. But the entreaties of Mr. J. T. Irvine, who recognized its great historical value, led to the substitution of a flying buttress, which has successfully met the difficulty. The external features of this interesting wall will be described in connexion with the cloister that abutted against it.

§ It is shewn in the view of this part of the church in H. and B. Winkles's *Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (London, 1838), i. 120.

the great north tower, perhaps for the parishioners of the altar of St. Nicholas, who may have used the bells therein. The doorway of this screen, which was defended by a stout drawbar, is of the same section and pattern as the two doorways in the south quire aisle. The cloister doorway is also of the same date and character.

Of the other divisions the principal one is the screen still separating the monks' quire from the parts of the church west of it, which were used by or more accessible to



FIG. 30.
SECTION OF THE QUIRE DOORWAY.

the citizens. It was originally a double screen of wood of the same date as the other fittings in the quire, which were first used in 1227, but its west side was replaced early in the fourteenth century by a stone wall with central door of a similar pattern to those in the quire aisles. Its section is shewn in FIG. 30. On, at any rate, the north side of the door there seems to have been a recess for an altar. This was subsequently walled up and converted into a cupboard, lighted by a small cinquefoiled window, but the traces

of it remained in the form of a curious segmental half-arch until the recent destruction of the wall to make way for niches and imagery. From the ranging of the bases of the north-west pier of the tower already described it seems that, in place of the present seventeenth-century steps, there was originally a broad flight, after the manner of that at Canterbury, extending the whole width of the screen, with a platform on top. This double screen was surmounted by a gallery, and thus formed the *pulpitum* or loft on which the organs stood (and stand), and where the Gospel was sung on festivals.

Another important screen was that formerly under the tower arch at the east end of the nave. It was a solid structure of stone, and had been provided for, if not actually begun, when the north pier of the arch was built, as is evident from the fact that the shafts of this start, not from the floor, but the top of the screen. The same peculiarity exists on the south side of the arch. The arch bases shew that the screen was about 14 feet high, but its junctions with the wall below have unfortunately been obliterated. On top of it was a loft where stood the great Rood* and its attendant images, and against the west face was placed the altar of St. Nicholas between the two procession doors. As there are no remains of this screen we cannot say whether it was finished before or after the remodelling of the south transept.

It is however clear that after the completion of the latter work the rebuilding of the nave was abandoned, and the junctions of the early-Decorated and Norman work made good in the singular way we see. (Figs. 25 and 31.) It will be noticed that one-half of the Norman arch on each side has been reset with the original voussoirs. The northern arch is supported by a new pier of the same plan as that east of it; but on the south side, although the pier is in the main new, the arch is carried by a shaft of Norman plan but Decorated date, with the capital beautifully carved with oak

* The Rood is casually mentioned in the Customal in the directions *De Famulis Ecclesie*: "Cum processio sit ad crucem in navem ecclesie ponent ante crucifixum cereum accensum." Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 30.

leaves and acorns.* The square abacus of this capital is probably unique.

The altar of St. Nicholas is first named in a charter of



FIG. 31.—JUNCTION OF NEW AND OLD WORKS IN THE SOUTH ARCADE OF THE NAVE.

Gundulf, the date of which must fall between 1st August 1107 and 7th March 1107-8.† That it stood in the nave

* The whole of this foliage was painted, and on the nave side richly gilt.

† See *ante*, 215.

from the beginning against the rood loft there can be little doubt, but no definite record of its position occurs before the fourteenth century. On 6th April 1312 an agreement was made touching a dispute in the Consistory Court of Canterbury between the prior and chapter of Rochester on the one part, and the parishioners of the altar of St. Nicholas on the other part, "*occasione amocionis dicti altaris parochialis sancti Nicholai per dictos religiosos, contra voluntatem parochianorum altaris supradicti in alio loco dicte ecclesie situati.*"* Why the parish altar had been moved is not stated, but probably on account of some work in connexion with the rood loft and the building up of the junctions in the nave described above. It was accordingly agreed that the parish mass should be sung on certain feasts and on all Sundays "*in altari existente in corpore ecclesie anteriori sub pulpito,*" but the other offices were to be said *sine notâ*. On ordinary days no mass might be sung "*in altari sub præfato pulpito,*" nor the divine offices performed "*in parte anteriori sive in navi dicti ecclesie,*" except *sine notâ*. It seems, therefore, that there was an altar *sub pulpito*, probably on the top of the steps beside the quire door, and an altar in the nave also, which had temporarily been removed. The date of the agreement, 1312, is approximately that of the carved capital and other Decorated work in the nave. In a deed of 1327, presently to be noticed, the parish altar is definitely spoken of as "*the altar of St. Nicholas situated in the nave of the said church;*" it would seem, therefore, that the works above described had then been completed and the altar replaced against the rood loft. The 1312 agreement, which was a settlement of one of the usual quarrels when the church was parochial as well as monastic or collegiate, concludes with a proviso that if at any time the monks would build them a separate church outside the cathedral church, the parishioners would remove into it, and resign all claims to an altar in the cathedral church. We hear nothing further till a century later, when bishop Richard Yong, in May 1418, granted to the parishioners of the altar of St. Nicholas, *siti in nave*

* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 545, where the document is printed at length. It will repay careful study on account of the many curious conditions laid down in it.

ecclesie nostre Roffensis, licence to continue and complete the building of the work there begun for making a church in the cemetery on the north of the cathedral church, on completion of which they were to remove into it. Various objections and hindrances were raised by the monks, and the building got on slowly. But in 1421 a composition was drawn up between the monks and citizens withdrawing all opposition to the completion of the still unfinished structure, which was to be ready for occupation in three years.* And on 18th December 1423 the new church of St. Nicholas "in the cemetery commonly called Green Church Hawe" was consecrated by John, bishop of Dromore (*in absentia episcopi Roffensis*), and a solemn renunciation made by the parishioners "in the nave of the cathedral church of Rochester before the altar which was anciently called the altar of St. Nicholas, lying and situate in the said cathedral church," of all their rights to the same altar.† One more dispute occurred in 1447, owing to the parishioners having begun to build a porch at the west end of their church, which the monks maintained was an infringement on their right of way, but the citizens removed the obstruction, and peace was restored.‡ Into the further history of St. Nicholas church there is no need to enter.

As there is no later mention of an altar of St. Nicholas in the cathedral church, it is probable that it was taken away and set up in the new parish church in 1423. Whether the screen against which it stood was also then removed, or at what time it eventually disappeared, there is nothing to shew.

The north aisle of the nave does not appear at any time since the beginning of the thirteenth century to have been closed by a screen or altar at its east end. The end of the south aisle, however, was certainly so closed, as may be seen from the mutilations of the arch bases for the building of a screen there; one of the marble shafts of the arch has also been taken away for it.

* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 561.

† "In navi ecclesie cathedralis Roffensis ante altare quod fuit ab antiquo vocatum altare sancti Nicholai in ecclesia cathedrali predicta situm et situatum." *Ibid.* 568.

‡ *Ibid.* 575.

Urgent need of repairs to the monastic buildings for a time put a stop to any further important works in the church, but several interesting doorways and windows were inserted. The earliest of these is of special interest from its being dated.

According to an anonymous chronicler, on the evening of Trinity Sunday 1327 "all the men of Rochester conspired to despoil the cathedral church under pretence of having access to the church night and day to minister the reserved Sacrament to the sick, and being denied entry they assailed and broke the doors of the church, and throughout the night and until terce the next day besieged the monks." "By some agreement, I know not what, the tumult was quieted," says the chronicler.* The agreement, however, exists among the records of the Dean and Chapter.† It is dated 14th June 1327, a week after the riot, and recites how

* 1327. "Nec est pretereundum quomodo post festum Sancte Trinitatis in estate predicta omnes de Roffa ad depredandum ecclesiam Roffensem cathedralem conspirantes sub quesito colore habendi ingressum in ecclesiam nocte et die ad ministrandum infirmis viaticum et denegato eis introitu hostia ecclesie hostiliter in multitudine armata invadentes hostia fregerunt. et per totam noctem usque in crastinum ad horam tertiam Monachos inclusos obsidentes nescio quo pacto tumultus conquievit." Cott. MS. Faustina B. 5, ff. 49^b, 50; and Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 368.

† The following is the text of the agreement: "Per istam Indenturam Cunctis pateat evidenter quod Anno domini Millesimo Trecentesimo vicesimo septimo Decimo octavo Kalendas Julii mota contentione inter Priorem et Conventum ecclesie Cathedralis Roffensis ex parte una. Et parochianos altaris Sancti Nicholai in navi dicte ecclesie Roffensis situati ex parte altera. super custodia clavis dicte Ecclesie navis sic concordatum est inter partes. videlicet quod dicti Religiosi facient dictis parochianis unum Oratorium in angulo dicte navis ecclesie juxta hostium borale cum hostio et fenestra. ex parte exteriore dicte ecclesie ad reponendum corpus domini pro infirmis | nocturnis horis | futuris temporibus ministrandis cum libero introitu et exitu ad dictum Oratorium. Et quia ante completionem dicti Oratorij propter defectum ingressus ecclesie | ut pluribus parochianorum visum fuerat. per eventus fortuitos pericula contingere possint. ex benignitate dictorum Religiosorum concessum est et concordatum quod die et nocte usque ad dicti Oratorii completionem pro infirmis ministrandis liberum in dictam ecclesiam habeant ingressum. Oratorio vero perfecto et clavi hostii dicti Oratorii eisdem parochianis tradita. ingressus dicte ecclesie de cetero per noctem totaliter denegetur. Noctibus Natalis domini. Omnium Sanctorum et Sancti Nicholai duntaxat exceptis | Observato tamen quod dicti parochiani omnia sacramenta et sacramentalia ac eciam omnia servicia sua in dicta navi ecclesie habeant sicut prius usi sunt et habere solebant a tempore ultime Compositionis inter eosdem facte. In cujus rei testimonium parti Indenture remanenti penes Religiosos predictos Sigillum Commune Civitatis Roffensis est appensum. Et parti Indenture remanenti penes parochianos predictos. appensum est Sigillum Commune Religiosorum predictorum. Datum Roffe in ecclesia Cathedrali predicta xij^{mo} Kalendas Julij Anno domini supradicto." A damaged impression of the city seal in white wax is appended. Endorsed: "De oratorio pro parochianis Roff in navi ecclesie Roffensis."

a dispute had arisen between the prior and convent on the one part, and the parishioners of the altar of St. Nicholas "situated in the nave" on the other part, concerning the custody of the key of the nave. It was therefore agreed "that the said religious shall make for the said parishioners an Oratory in the corner of the nave of the said church, beside the north door, with a door and a window on the outer side of the said church, to place the *Corpus Domini* in to minister to the sick during the night hours at all future



FIG. 32.—SECTION OF ARCH MOULDINGS OF A DOORWAY
INSERTED IN THE WEST FRONT IN 1327.

times, with free entry and exit to the said Oratory," etc. The door made in accordance with this agreement seems to be that at the west end of the north aisle of the nave. It has continuous mouldings of the accompanying section (Fig. 32). The window, if it were an external one, cannot now be traced, owing to alterations and recasing.

The most noteworthy work of the fourteenth century is the beautiful doorway now forming the entrance to the chapter-

room. It may have been inserted when certain "defects" in the church were made good in 1342, principally at the cost of bishop Hamo of Hythe.* The two principal figures represent the Christian and Jewish Dispensations, but the female figure of the Church was "restored" by Mr. Cottingham with a bearded bishop's head! (FIG. 33.) By the exertions of Miss Louisa Twining the lady's head has lately been replaced. The figure of the Synagogue is mostly original. The four figures above, two on either side, are accompanied by most interesting representations of mediæval studies with reading desks. The figures are supposed to be those of the Evangelists, or the Doctors of the Church, but there are no distinctive emblems to indicate them.† In the apex of the arch, above the singing angels, is the little naked "soul" of the donor or builder.

To the same work as this doorway belong the two windows with flowing tracery inserted on either side of it. A similar window seems once to have existed in the corresponding aisle of the north-east transept, where John of Sheppey, who was prior under bishop Hamo of Hythe, afterwards founded a chantry at the altar there.

In 1343, during the episcopate of Hamo of Hythe, "the bishop caused the new steeple of the church of Rochester to be carried up higher with stones and timbers, and to be covered with lead. He also placed in the same four new bells whose names are Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc."‡

So far as can be gathered from old prints and engravings the tower had already been carried up high enough to receive the four main roofs against it, and this stage seems to have been ornamented with an arcade of tall trefoiled arches.

* "Anno regni regis Edwardi [III.] xvj (1342) Episcopus Refectorium. Dormitorium. et alios defectus in ecclesia sumptibus suis pro majori parte fecit reparare." Cott. MS. Faustina B. 5, f. 88^b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 375.

† My friend Mr. C. R. Peers suggests that possibly the contrast between Christianity and Judaism is continued here, and that the two lower figures, both of which have veiled heads, are Jewish doctors, and the two upper, with bare heads, Christian doctors.

‡ "Anno regni regis Edwardi [III.] xvij (1343) Episcopus tunc Campanile novum ecclesie Roffensis petris atque lignis altius fecit levare et illud plumbo cooperire. necnon et quatuor campanas novas in eodem ponere. quorum [*sic*] nomina sunt hec. Dunstanus. Paulinus. Ithamarus. atque Lanfrancus." Cott. MS. Faustina B. 5, f. 89^b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 375.

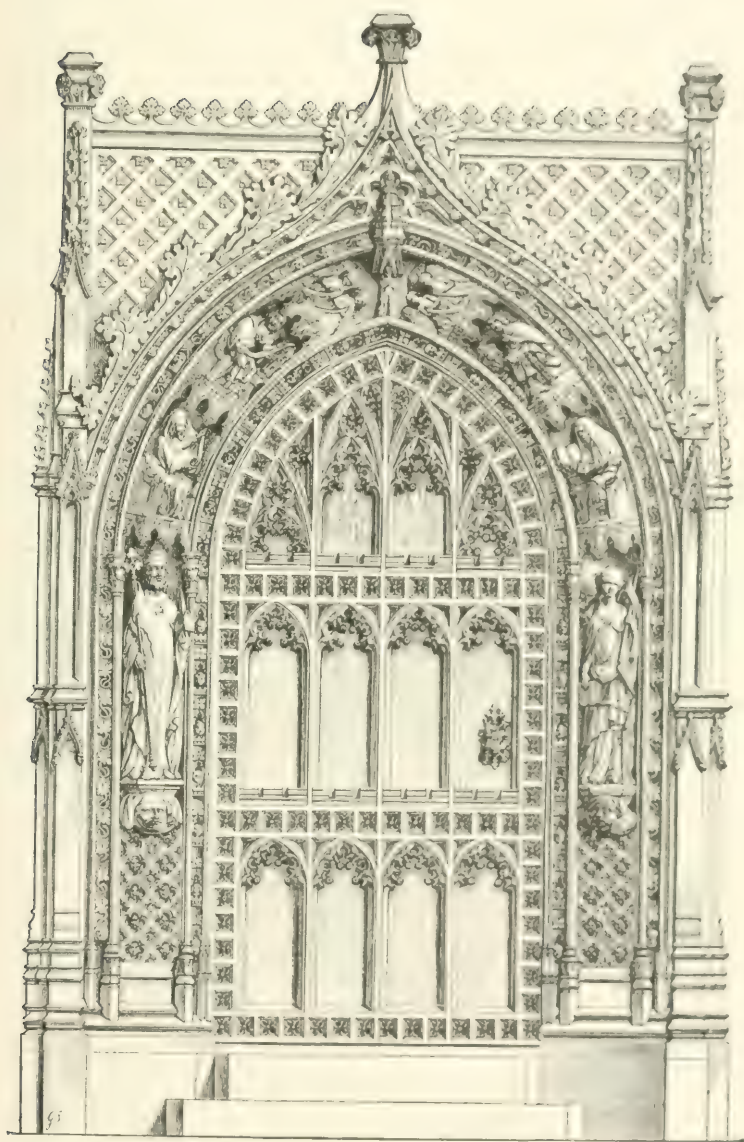


FIG. 33.—DOORWAY AT ENTRANCE OF CHAPTER-ROOM.

(The door is modern.)

Bishop Hamo now added an upper story, capped by a wooden spire covered with lead. Both appear to have undergone extensive renewal (see *post*), but the main lines of the steeple were retained until 1826, when Mr. Cottingham took down the spire, and eased and otherwise altered the tower into its present form. As the tower was known as "six-bell steeple" in 1545,* there must have been placed in it, besides the four new bells given by the bishop, two others, perhaps those that formerly hung in the south tower.

The next work in point of date was the raising of the outer wall of the north aisle of the quire to form a clerestory, and the erection of a new stone vault of four bays with longitudinal, transverse, diagonal, and wall ribs, with carved bosses. Of the four windows of the clerestory the first is of two lights with quatrefoil above, the others of three lights, of two patterns, with late-Decorated tracery. Of about the same period are the three-light windows, with slender tracery verging on Perpendicular, that are inserted in the side walls of the presbytery in place of the plainer early-English lights. These and the sedilia were probably put in during the episcopate of Thomas Brinton, 1373—1389.

During the fifteenth century various alterations were made in the nave. In the north aisle the first five Norman windows were replaced by larger pointed ones of early-Perpendicular character, of two lights with a sexfoil in the head. In the sixth bay was also inserted a doorway with a square-headed window over it, also of two lights. The windows in the south aisle are poor modern things, and it is impossible to say what they have succeeded.

Still later the Norman clerestory of the nave, which from the bulging and declination of the existing walls had evidently been for some time in a dangerous state, was taken down and rebuilt in the new manner, and a large eight-light window inserted in the Norman front.

Professor Willis, in his notes already referred to, accurately describes the nave clerestory as "a late work, consisting of a flat wall with four-centred windows of the plainest and meanest character, the same in number as the pier arches

* See Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 174.

below them, but awkwardly arranged, so that no one window stands above the centre of a pier arch, each being more or less to the west of it." The new clerestory, unlike its Norman predecessor, has no wall passage. With the old clerestory the Norman pinnacle on the north-west angle of the nave was taken down and a plain octagonal turret set up in its stead,* and the flat Norman ceiling and its outer roof were replaced by an open timber roof, also nearly flat. These new works were no doubt largely assisted by bequests of two of the bishops, and other pious folk. Thus bishop John Langedon, by his will dated 2nd March 1433-4, left £20 "*ad reparacionem tecti navis ecclesie nostre Roffensis.*"† Thomas Brown, bishop of Norwich, but of Rochester from May 1435 to September 1436, by his will dated 28th October 1455, also left £20 "*ad fabricam navis ecclesie cathedralis Ruffensis Proviso quod opere fabrice hujusmodi aliquod memoriale fiat per sculpturas armorum meorum et nominis mei. Ita quod intuitentes magis alliciantur ad orandum pro me.*"‡ There are no traces of the good bishop's arms, but they may have been painted on the shields carried by the angels carved on the roof corbels, which now bear the Elizabethan arms of the city. Among other bequests are also the following:

1444. Thomas Glover alias Tanner, of Strode :

"*ad dimidiam fenestram in corpore ecclesie Cathedralis Roffensis de novo vitriandam. xxxs.*" (i. 31^b.)§

1449. John Bamburgh :

To be buried in the cathedral church.

"*ad fabricam unius fenestre in navi ecclesie Cathedralis Roffensis. lx^s.*" (i. 87.)

1452. John Pylmore :

To be buried in the cathedral church.

"*fabrice unius fenestre in eadem ecclesia. xl^s.*" (ii. 14.)

* This interesting piece of architectural history, an example of fifteenth-century restoration, was destroyed during the recent "restoration" of the west front (despite the protests of the late Mr. Granville Leveson Gower, V.P.S.A., and the writer) in order that it might be replaced by a nineteenth-century mockery of the Norman pinnacle it had superseded.

† Reg. Chichele, i. f. 462^b.

‡ Reg. Stafford, f. 132.

§ These and other references to extracts from wills relate to the volumes, now removed to Somerset House, of the Will Registers of the Consistory Court of Rochester. I am indebted for most of such extracts to my friend Mr. Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A.

Mr. Denne also quotes a sentence passed in 1447 upon a vicar of Lamberhurst, in the consistory court, for gross misconduct, "quod processionaliter eat in eccl. cath. et unam fenestram faciat vitriari sumptibus suis," etc.*

Another fifteenth-century alteration was the substitution of a wide window of nine lights, with a transom, for the three upper lancets of the east front, and the addition of a low screen of stone, pierced with quatrefoils, in front of it to guard the clerestory wall-passage. This window was destroyed by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, who "restored" the three lancets, and the quatrefoil screen was then placed in front of the west window, but it has since been taken down and deposited with other lumber in the crypt.

The last addition made to the already singular ground plan of the church was the building on to the west side of the south transept of a late-Perpendicular quire of three bays. It was intended to have been covered with a fan-vault of six compartments carried by two central columns, but that part of the design was never carried out. It opens into the transept by a wide arch with massive jamb shafts, but towards the aisle there are three tall arches, like windows without tracery, with the lower parts closed by stone screens. The windows are each of three lights with a transom, and traceried heads of somewhat curious pattern. This extension has in modern times been called the Lady Chapel, but, as will presently be shewn, the south transept was actually the chapel of Our Lady, and this was added to form a quire to it. An earlier claim that this was the infirmary chapel, which was also dedicated in honour of Our Lady, was made from lack of knowledge of the uses and position of the monastic *infirmatorium* or *infirmaria*.

In the accounts of William Freselle, prior, for 1512-13 is a payment of 30s., "Johanni Birche kerver ultra vj^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d sibi solutos ultimo anno pro complanacione nove capelle et pro factura desse in capella Domini Prioris."† The *nova*

* "Memorials of the Cathedral Church of Rochester," by the Rev. Samuel Denne, M.A. and F.S.A., in Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 178, note [p].

† The originals of this and some other account rolls are at present mislaid, but transcripts of them exist among the Thorpe MSS. in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, whence the above extract is taken (MS. 178-7.)

capella here mentioned is not improbably the western annex to the south transept.

This last addition to the church brings us within a few years of the suppression of the priory and the refounding of the cathedral church in 1541 with, for the second time, a body of secular canons. By the charter incorporating the new Dean and Chapter, the whole of the church, with its chapels, bells, steeples, cloisters, roofs, and cemeteries, was made over to them; but excepting some slight alterations in the arrangements of the quire, no important changes appear to have been made in the fabric.

During the three and a half centuries that have since elapsed the church has suffered many things at the hands of "restorers" and others.

The shrines of St. William, St. Paulinus, and St. Ythamar had probably been destroyed in 1538, but the altars and images, etc., no doubt remained, as at Canterbury, until the reign of Edward VI., when they were swept away and the church otherwise defaced under the "Reformers."

A bond of 1591, among the chapter records, contains the statement: "Whereas a greate parte of the Chansell of the within named Cathedrall church was lately burned and now reedified." There does not, however, seem to be any other record of this fire, or of its extent, or as to what repairs were entailed by it.

During the Great Rebellion the church seems to have suffered less than others of its size. It was visited by the rebels in September 1642 on their way from Canterbury, where they had wrought great havoc; and "Mercurius Rusticus" gives the following account of their doings here:

The Rebels therefore comming to *Rochester*, brought the same affections along with them which they had expressed at *Canterbury*, but in wisdom thought it not safe to give them the same scope, *here as there*; for the multitude though mad enough, yet were not so mad, nor stood yet so prepar'd to approve such heathenish practices; by this means the Monuments of the dead, which elsewhere they brake up and violated, stood untouched; Escoucheons and Armes of the *Nobilitie* and *Gentry* (upbraiding eye-sores to broken, mean

Citizens and vulgar Rebels) remained undefaced, the Seats & Stals of the Quire escaped breaking downe, onely those things which were wont to stuffe up *Parliamentary Petitions*, and were branded by the Leaders of the Faction, for *Poperie* and *Innovation*, in these they took libertie to let loose their wild zeale: they brake down the Rayl about the *Lords Table*, or *Altar*, call it which you please; and not only so, but most basely reviled a now Reverend Prelate, who being lately Deane of that Church,* had for the more uniforme, and reverend receiving of the blessed Sacrament set it up, with the odious name of Rogue, often repeated: they seized upon the Velvet covering of the holy Table, and in contempt of those holy Mysteries which were Celebrated on the Table, removed the Table it selfe into a lower place of the Church.†

According to Mr. Denne,‡ large sums were spent upon the repair of the fabric at the Restoration, but what parts were thus dealt with is not stated. A stone with the date 1664, inserted in the outer wall of the south aisle of the nave, probably records its partial rebuilding and recasing, when most of its ancient features were obliterated. The other aisle was partly reconstructed in 1670, in which year Mr. Denne says: "An agreement was made with Robert Cable to take down the north wall of the nave of the church forty feet in length, and to erect it new from the ground."§

In the Chapter Act Book,|| under date 8th December 1679, is this entry:

Memorandum that Mr. Guy appeared this day in the Chapter house & gives this account Concerning the Steple vizt That he finds the same in a very ruinos Condicon—ready to sinke downe into the Church & to Carry all before it, by reason of the rottennesse of the plates, & that the great Girders are rotted quite through so that a stick may be easily thrust through the same: & that all the lead is so

* This was Henry King, dean from 6th February 1638-9, who was consecrated bishop of Chichester 6th February 1641-2.

† *Mercurius Rusticus; or, The Countreys Complaint, of The Sacrileges, Profanations, and Plundrings, Committed by the Schismatiques, on the Cathedral Churches of this Kingdome* (Oxford, 1646), being the second part of *Angliæ Ruina: or, England's Ruine, etc.* 220, 221.

‡ Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 181.

§ *Ibid.* 182.

|| iii. f. 14^b.

thinn that there is no mending of it & that it is thought that the spire hath not beene new leaded since it was first set up. And that three Corners of the Stone worke of the tower we^{ch} is all rent and Cracked, must be taken downe, And that he supposes that the makeing good of the stone Tower, the takeing downe of the Old Spire & the putting upp of new one & sufficiently to Cover the same with lead may amount unto the so^me of 1600^{li} over & besides the old lead & timber.

Subscriptions seem to have been raised for the repair, for a few leaves further on* is a list of "Benefactors" and the amounts they subscribed, including the Dean of Canterbury £20, the Church of Canterbury £20, Sir Orlando Bridgeman (Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas) £100, John Warner late Bishop of Rochester £2000, John Dolbin now Bishop £100, and so on. Another opinion, however, than Mr. Guy's appears to have been taken, for under date 17th June 1680 is this memorandum :

Henry ffry of the City of Westminster Carpenter having taken a survey of the steeple of the Cathedrall Church of Rochester doth declare, That the mending of the lead upon the Spire and the mending of one end of a Beame att the lower end of the east side of the Spire wilbe sufficient to keepe the same from falling.†

Mr. Guy's alarming report was therefore set aside, and on 23 June 1680 we find : "The Repaires of the Steeple and the wall Ordered to be done forthwth.‡

The steeple was, however, rebuilt in 1749§ from the roofs upwards.

In 1751 the condition of the south-east transept became so serious that "in pursuance of the advice of the late Mr. Sloane" two great brick buttresses were built up against it.|| Twenty years later the roof was lightened, and, according to Mr. Denne, "these experiments had for a time their use. But the wall being evidently declining, it was since judged expedient to consult Mr. Mylne, and by his direction piles of brick have been reared in the undercroft and within

* Chapter Act Book, iii. f. 17.

† *Ibid.* iv. f. 8^v.

‡ *Ibid.* f. 16^v.

§ Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 183.

|| See Storer's view of the south-east transept, published in 1816.

the aisle, and other methods used to discharge the weight of the upper works. This scheme has hitherto fully answered the purpose.”* The “piles of brick” still remain in the undercroft (see Plan, PLATE III.); those “within the aisle” are shewn in Storer’s plate 7.



FIG. 34.—THE SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT, BEFORE ITS “RESTORATION” BY MR. COTTINGHAM, SHewing ONE OF THE BUTTRESSES BUILT IN 1751.

In 1763 the pinnacles on the outer turrets of the west front were taken down, and the remainder of the north turret rebuilt from the ground in a curious imitation of Norman work (see FIG. 7).†

* Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 169.

† *Ibid.* 183.

Shortly after 1779 Gundulf's north tower was begun to be demolished for the sake of the building material, but the work was abandoned after the upper parts had been destroyed.

Between 1825 and 1830 a great deal of work was done to the church under the direction of Mr. L. N. Cottingham, especially in connexion with the quire and presbytery, the south-east transept, the central tower, and the west front. The alterations in the quire and presbytery will be referred to later. With regard to the south-east transept the distiguring brick buttresses were taken down (FIG. 34), and the whole front recased with a perpendicular face; the arches into the eastern aisle were also unblocked, and the doorway and screen at the west end of the south quire aisle removed eastwards to the southernmost of the two arches at the top of the steps. In the case of the tower the upper story and the wooden spire that surmounted it were taken down, the lower story cased, and a new tower of poor design carried up in place of the old steeple. The west window and gable of the nave were "restored," that is, made new, and the remains of the old Norman diapering* relegated to the crypt.

In 1872 and following years the church again underwent "restoration" at the hands of Sir G. Gilbert Scott. An ugly late-Perpendicular window in the clerestory at the east end of the church was then replaced by sham early-English lancets, and the presbytery and quire were gutted and repaved and refitted. Externally the east and north gables of the presbytery were rebuilt to the supposed pitch of the old roofs, but the roofs themselves have not yet been raised to meet them. The roofs and gables of both the transepts were also rebuilt to the old high pitch, as already noted. A good deal of necessary repair was done to the stonework, and on the whole the "restoration" was conservative and involved the destruction of very little old work.

In 1888 and following years the west front was "restored" under the direction of Mr. J. L. Pearson, who replaced the outer pinnacles and north turret, destroyed in 1763, by sham-Norman ones designed from old drawings. He also destroyed the fifteenth-century pinnacle, and substituted for it a sham-

* This is shewn in the etching in Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, plate xxxv.

Norman copy of its fellow. Much of the facing was also renewed, but this was to a large extent necessary owing to its decayed condition.

Before leaving the church something must be said as to (i.) its antiquities and ritual arrangements, and (ii.) the fine collection of ancient monuments.

One of the most valuable sources of evidence as to the arrangements of a church is its old pavement. Not only does it sometimes indicate by undisturbed gravestones of known persons the positions of altars and images, but the limits of altars and altar platforms, the places of lost furniture and screens, and of various other interesting features, are often plainly to be seen in it. Unfortunately the cathedral church of Rochester has been repaved in modern times from end to end, and most of the ancient gravestones that remained have been displaced or broken up. We are therefore confined to the few traces left upon the walls, and such information as may be gleaned from wills and other documents.

The nave has been so completely divested of almost every trace of its old arrangements that very little can be said about them. The pavement is all new, and a casement of a bishop's brass, shewn in Thorpe's plan as lying at the foot of the steps before the west door, has now disappeared. Some indications of colour may be seen on the diaper-work in the first of the Norman bays of the triforium, and Mr. George Payne has pointed out to me the ghost of a large painting of St. Christopher on the north face of the last pier of the south arcade. The carved Decorated capital on the south side has also been painted and gilded.

The altar of St. Nicholas and the little chapel built in 1327 were probably taken away in 1423. All traces of them and of the screen against which the altar stood, other than what have been already noted, have disappeared with the old floor.

In the *Customale Roffense* is a memorandum concerning the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital near Chatham, that "the infirm also have the offering of two altars, namely, of St. James and St. Giles, and on that account they ought

to cover the aisles of the church.”* As the Custumal was drawn up early in the fourteenth century, the aisles here referred to can hardly be other than those of the nave, and the altars of St. Giles and St. James would appear to have been in them. No other reference to the altar of St. Giles has come to light, but that of St. James is named in two late wills :

1490. John Dogett :

To the aut^r of Seynt James the apostell w^hin the seyde Cathedral church xl^d. (v. 130.)

1501. Richard Qwyk :

To the autir of Seynt James in the seyde Cathedral church a cloth of Diaper. (v. 411.)

The condition of the arch between the north aisle and the transept is so perfect that there cannot at any time have been an altar or screen there, or it would certainly have left traces, and the arch was no doubt purposely kept open for pilgrims and processions. The arch at the east end of the south aisle has its base ruthlessly chopped away for a lofty screen that stood in it, and against this was no doubt an altar. It was surrounded with painting, some of which, in the form of a series of branched loops, black on a yellow ground, remains on the north jamb of the arch. As the altar of St. James was a popular one and accessible to the layfolk, I am inclined to identify it with the south aisle altar, especially since, as will be seen presently, there is no other place for it, unless it stood against one of the pillars.

Somewhere in the nave was a famous image of Our Lady of Grace. Whether it was the same as the “great image of St. Mary” recorded in the thirteenth-century list of benefactions† as the gift of Robert FitzBundo and Aldiva his wife it is impossible to say, as it is not mentioned until the

* “Habent eciam infirmi oblacionem duorum altarium, scilicet Sancti Jacobi et Sancti Egidii, et ideo debent cooperire alas ecclesie.” Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 25, 170.

† “Robertus filius Bundonis et Aldiva uxor ejus dederunt magnam ymaginem sancte Marie.” Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 90^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 123.

end of the fifteenth century. Several references to it occur in wills :

1497. John Bischopp, brother of Dan William Bischopp, prior of Rochester :

To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester afore the image of o^r lady of grace.

I will that a honest priest syng in the abbey church afore the ymage of our seyde Lady of Grace St Grygory trentall a hole yere. (vi. 60^b.)

1518. Michael Ottewell :

To ouer ladie of grace to the mayntening of hur ligths beyng in the bodie of the abbey church iiij^d. (vii. 134.)

1527. Alice Warner :

To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester in the body of y^e churche before ouer lady of grace and to the ligh before our lady of grace in the same church xl^d. (viii. 146.)

1532. John Warner :

To be buried before the ymage of our lady in the body of the Cathedral church in Rochester. (ix. 69.)

Before it, in addition to the usual light or lights, was a chest for offerings. In the sacrist's account for 1512-13 is a payment of 4*l.* *pro factura unius ciste coram Beata Maria in navi ecclesie*, and 3*l.* 5*d.* are set down as the offerings for the same year at the tomb of St. William and *de cista Beate Marie*.

There is one other matter touching the nave. By his will dated 2nd March 1433 John Langedon, bishop of Rochester, desires

corpus meum vero sepeliendum in ecclesia nostra Roffensis in navi ecclesie inter duas columnas proximas ad finem capelle beate marie virginis in navi ecclesie.*

If the last three words be not redundant, this direction implies the existence of a Lady Chapel in the nave, perhaps one in which stood the image of Our Lady of Grace. I am not, however, able to locate this, or for the present to explain the passage. Any gravestone which might mark the site has long disappeared.

* Reg. Chicheley, i. f. 462^b.

One object in the nave must be mentioned before leaving it, namely, the font. That one existed in mediæval times is proved by a direction in the *Custumal* that the servants of the church, “*cum processio sit ad crucem in navem ecclesie ponent ante crucifixum [i.e. the Rood] cereum accensum, et in nocte ad fontes candelam.*”^{*} Of this font nothing appears to be known. In Coney’s view of the nave in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*† the font is shewn standing under an arch on the south side, enclosed by a balustrade and surmounted by a seventeenth-century cover. So far as the engraving tells this font appears to have resembled the one at Canterbury, and as that was given by John Warner, bishop of Rochester (1637-8—1666), when prebendary of Canterbury (*circa* 1634—1637), the Rochester font was perhaps also his gift, because the old one had been damaged or destroyed by the Puritans. In 1850 the old font and its balustrade were swept away, and in place of the former a new one of sham-Norman design was set up in the next bay westwards. This in turn has been done away with, and another, of equally feeble design, which was dedicated on 24th May 1893, has been placed in the middle of the seventh bay.

The nave is now a mere preaching house, furnished with an old pulpit displaced from the quire, and with varnished pitch-pine fittings for the clergy, singing men, and choristers. The congregation is provided with chairs.

On Gundulf’s death in March 1107-8 he was buried by archbishop Anselm “before the altar of the Crucifix of the church which he himself had built from the foundations.”‡ Where this altar stood is not recorded, nor is there any other mention of such an altar until the end of the fifteenth century. This is not, however, extraordinary, owing to the scarcity of intermediate documents that might have referred to it.

In 1480 John Beaulé the elder desires in his will “to be buried in the church of Seynt Andrew in Rochester betwene the Rode autur and the north dore and the autir of Seynt

* Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 30.

† Ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel (London, 1817), vol. i.

‡ “Ante altare crucifixi ecclesie quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat.” Cott. MS. Nero A. 8, f. 80; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 291.

Ursule" (vi. 45). The north door here referred to is that in the north transept; we can therefore have no hesitation in placing the Rood altar in the large recess in the east wall, and the altar of St. Ursula in the small arched recess next to the quire aisle. Whether this Rood altar occupied the same place as the altar of the Crucifix before which Gundulf was buried it is difficult to say, but the two dedications are undoubtedly synonymous for one and the same altar, which was also known as the altar of St. Cross, and the Jesus altar. It was surmounted by a roodloft, supported by existing corbels in the east wall, and in front upon a screen that stood on the front edge of the platform. On the loft stood a figure of the Rood with its accustomed light before it.

The following other extracts from wills of Rochester citizens refer to this altar and its adjuncts:

1496. William Ryverse:

Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Cathedrali
Roffensis ante crucem juxta hostium boriale ecclesie.
(v. 282^b.)

1498. Agnes Crowche:

To be bereyd in the monastery of the Cathedral church
before the autir of Ihu, and for my sepulcur there vjs viij^d.
(v. 307.)

1501. Richard Qwyk:

To the autir of Ihu and of Seynt Ursuly in the seyde
Cathedral church to make to eyther of them an autir cloth
a fyne shete. (v. 411.)

1503. William Brune, gent.:

To the payntyng of the Rode lofte in the seyde
Cathedral Church x marke. (vi. 73.)

1516. Jane Skipwith, widow, of Bulley Hill nexte Rochester:

To be buried in the Cathedral church before the Rode.
To the rode ligh in the abbey xij^d. (vii. 82.)

1523. Thomas Shemyng, draper:

To the roode at ihe aulter in the abbey of Rochester
ij yards of velvet prise xx^s for a garment. (vii. 291.)

The account of Robert Pyltone, sacrist, for 1512-13 also contains the following entry:

Item pro factura duarum fiolarum argenti ponderancium x. unces

ex donacione computantis ad altare Sancti Willelmi et Sancte Crucis
[et] Sancte Ursule xij^s.

The altar of St. Ursula was evidently a popular one, for there are many references to it in wills. It was apparently enclosed by a screen or iron grate, and was flanked by images of St. Christopher and St. Ursula. For the canopy of one of these, probably the latter, the hood mold of the arch of the Jesus altar is cut away on the south side. Besides the entry above quoted from the sacrist's account, the following references to St. Ursula's altar are found in wills:

1501. Richard Qwyk:

To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester afore the ymage of Seynt Ursule. To the autir of Seynt Ursule in the seyde church a playn Tuell marked w^t blake silke. To the autir of Jhu and of Seynt Ursuly in the seyd Cathedral Church to make to eyther of them an autir cloth a fyne shete. (v. 411^b.)

1503. William Brune, gentleman:

To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester before the ymage of Seynt Ursula and Seynt Xpofer there. (vi. 73.)

1504. William Ladd:

I bequeth to the supportacon of the chapell of seynt Ursula w^tin the abbey of Rochester xx^s. (vi. 116.)

1513. Marten Bere of the Cytie of Rochester gent. of Bullyhill in the parysshe of seynt Nicholas:

To the Pryor and covent of Rochester x marks to bye lede for the reparacion of ther dorter so that they find suerte that a brother of theirs syng too yers at seynt Ursula alter for my soule and Maryon and Elizabeth my wyffes. (vii. 1.)

1518. William Watts, junior:

To the ligh of Saynt Ursula in the abbey viij^d. (vii. 124^a.)

1526. Johan Pownde, widow:

To in ligh of Saynt Barbara* and Saynt Ursula in the abbey wher I am suster x^ld. (viii. 63.)

1543. Elizabeth Knollis:

To be buried in the Kyngs collige at Rochester before the chapill of Saynt Ursula. (x. 116.)

* This light was in St. Nicholas church.

This last entry is of interest as shewing that the various altars and chapels (as at Christchurch, Canterbury) were not destroyed at the suppression of the monastery, but continued in use under the Dean and Chapter appointed in 1541.

The place of St. Ursula's altar is now occupied by a modern monument,* which partly blocks the recess. It stood upon at least one step, but the evidence of this and of the various ancient grave-slabs in the transept disappeared with the old pavement. The only remaining traces of the altar of St. Ursula are the broken iron fastenings, on the chamfers of the recess in which it stood, for the ridels or curtains at the ends of it. These are 6 feet 10 inches from the present floor.

There remains one monumental slab in the north transept which must not be passed over. It is the casement of a brass, now fixed in an upright position in the recess for the Jesus altar, and is 3 feet $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches square. The design was, however, arranged lozengewise, a most unusual arrangement, and represented a priest in mass vestments with a figure on either side of him, and above, the Three Persons of the Trinity seated on a throne, with a kneeling figure on each side. The three lower figures held scrolls, and the priest had in addition an inscription under his feet. The whole was surrounded by a marginal inscription with the Evangelistic symbols at the corners. This remarkable memorial was apparently of the fifteenth century.

The north aisle of the quire has already been described as divided midway by a stone screen, which stands at the head of a flight of steps to the eastern parts of the church. The western part of the aisle is at present paved with a number of casements of brasses of various dates, and apparently collected here from other parts of the church. On either side the aisle is a stone bench extending its entire length, upon which the vaulting shafts stand. In the south wall is a mutilated canopied recessed tomb that once probably held an effigy. It is traditionally assigned to bishop Hamo of Hythe, 1319 to 1352, but there is nothing to connect it with him except its date, which is *circa* 1350. In the opposite wall are

* Of John Parr, Esq., Storekeeper of the Ordnance at Chatham, who died in 1792.

two doorways. The westernmost is a small pointed one, opening into a crooked passage to the basement of Gundulf's north tower. The present doorway is modern, but replaces an early one. The other door is a large square-headed opening leading to a flight of wooden steps up to the aisle roof, and thence, until the new tower was built, up to the belfry. The door actually opens into the space between the aisle and the Norman tower, and from the corbels in the walls there was at one time a chamber here of some kind. This is clearly referred to in a lease, quoted by Mr. Denne,* from the Dean and Chapter to Nicholas Arnold, priest, dated 7th April 1545, "of all their lodgings which was sometimes called the wax chandler's chambers, together with the little gallery next adjoining with all usual ways, that is to say, through the three-bell steeple,† some time so called, and so up to the north side of the church, and so on the stairs that goeth up to the six-bell steeple,‡ at a rent of a taper of one pound of wax, to be offered on Good Friday to the sepulchre of Our Lord." This space is now roofed in at the level of the aisle parapet, thereby rendering useless two of the clerestory windows of the aisle (which retain their glazing), and so darkening this part of the church. The blocked lancet window over the site of St. Ursula's altar also looked into the same space.

In its first state, as built by bishop Gundulf, the south transept probably contained two altars, for which room was again made when the transept was rebuilt and enlarged in the thirteenth century. The dedication of them is not known, but one was perhaps the altar of St. Mary. That there was an altar dedicated in her honour, at least as early as the thirteenth century, is proved by records of gifts to it in the list of benefactions,§ but its place is not indicated. During the subsequent alterations of the transept the two altar recesses were converted into one, which contained a single altar. This, as later documents prove, was dedicated

* Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 174.

† Gundulf's tower.

‡ The central tower.

§ "Quedam matrona de Wintonia, nomine Elviva, que habuit hic fratrem Nicholaum monachum, dedit . . . casulam que est cotidiana ad altare sancte Marie. Rogerus de Ticheseie monachus, dedit altari sancte Marie casulam optimam. Sungiva reclusa dedit . . . pannum ad altare sancte Marie." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, ff. 90^b, 91^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 123, 124.

in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the transept thenceforth became the chapel of Our Lady, or Lady Chapel.

The first entry that helps to locate the Lady Chapel is a reference in the early fourteenth-century *Customal* to "the altar of the Blessed Mary in the new work (*in novo opere*)."* This is followed by a grant among the Chapter records, dated Wednesday on the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary 16 Edward II. (1322), by Eleanor, widow of William Coman of Rochester, of an annual rent of 12*d.*, "ad sustentacionem unius lampadis ardentis coram altare beate Marie virginis in capella ejusdem in ecclesia cathedrali Roffensis *de novo constructa*."† On 1st March 50 Edward III. (1376-7) Robert de Beleknappe, knight, granted to the prior and convent all his manor of Sharsted, a moiety of the manor of Lidsing, and all his lands, etc. in the parishes of Chatham and Wouldham for an annual rent of 22 marks a year, "et inveniundo ac sustentando unum monachum presbiterum divina cotidie imperpetuum celebraturum in ecclesia sancti Andree Roffensis *ad altare beate Marie in parte Australi ejusdem ecclesie*, viz. pro salute mea dum vixero, etc."‡

In the plan of the church given in the *Customale Roffense*, § two of a row of three gravestones shewn as lying before the site of the altar in the south transept are described as those of bishops. By his will dated 11th December 1372 Thomas Trillek, bishop of Rochester, desires "corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia cathedrali Roffensis."|| That he was buried in the Lady Chapel is proved by the will, dated 30th April 1389, of his successor Thomas of Brinton, who desired "corpus meum sepeliendum *in capella sancte marie virginis* in ecclesia nostra Cathedrali Roffensis jam de novo constructa juxta tumulum bone memoris quondam Thome Trillek Roffensis Episcopi nostri predecessoris immediati."■ Perhaps the two slabs indicated by Thorpe covered the graves of these two bishops. They are no longer in the position shewn. There is, how-

* Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 13.

† Printed in Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 546.

‡ Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 219.

§ Plate xi. p. 174.

|| Reg. Whittlesey, f. 126^b.

■ Reg. Courtenay, f. 231^a.

ever, a huge casement of the brass of a bishop lying before the altar-place, which is not indicated in Thorpe's plan. This may be the memorial of bishop Richard Yong, who, by his will dated 17th October 1418, desires "*corpus meum sepeliendum in Capella beate Marie situata in ecclesia Roffensis in parte Australi dicte Capelle. Item volo quod ubi corpus meum sepelietur ponatur lapis marmoreus juxta decenciam meam prout ipsis executoribus melius videbitur.*"* The expression *de novo constructa* in bishop Brinton's will probably refers to some changes in the arrangements or decorations of the chapel, of which no trace nor other record remains.

Among the Chapter records is an agreement dated 30th May 8 Henry IV. (1407), between Sir William Rikhill, knight, and the Prior and Convent of Rochester, that whereas the said Sir William, among other good deeds, has given the monks £100 *in usus ecclesie sue*, the said Prior and Convent undertake that every day for ever, except on the last three days of Holy Week, a monk and priest shall celebrate *ad summum altare in capella beate Marie* a mass of requiem for the said William, Rosia his wife, and others, etc. By his will dated the day of St. German (31st July) 1407 the same Sir William "Rykel" desires to be buried in the church of the blessed Andrew of Rochester "*in capella beate Marie ejusdem ecclesie juxta lapidem ubi Johannes Schepeye nunc prior ejusdem ecclesie se disposuit jacere.*"† Rosa, formerly the wife of Sir William Rikhill, by her will dated 28th April 1418 desired her body to be buried in the cathedral church of Rochester *in eadem ecclesia ubi corpus predicti Willelmi nuper mariti mei requiescit [sic].*‡ Sir Richard de Arundell, brother of Sir William Arundel, K.G., by will dated 8th July 1417 desired to be buried *in capella beate Marie in Abbatia de Rouchestre secundum disposicionem et ordinacionem executorum meorum.*§ The will of Richard Brown *alias* Cordon, LL.D., archdeacon of Rochester, and

* Reg. Chicheley, i. f. 323^a.

† Reg. Arundel, i. f. 234.

‡ Reg. Stafford and Kemp, f. 222.

§ P.C.C. Reg. 45 Marche, p. 360; see also *Archæologia Cantuariæ*, XIII. 141.

canon of York, Wells, and St. Asaph, dated 8th October 1452, has also an interesting reference to this chapel:

*Si vero infra Civitatem Roffen. me mori contingat tunc volo quod corpus meum sepeliatur in Cancelllo beate Marie Virginis infra ecclesiam Conventualem et Cathedralem beati Andree Roffen. ad pedes domini Ricardi Yong quondam Episcopi Roffen. et primi promotoris mei cum superposicione lapidis et epitaphio predicto.**

The following entries in later wills also have reference to the Lady Chapel:

1474. Edmund Chertsey, gent.:

To be buried in the Cathedral chirch of Seint Andrewe in Rouchestr beside the body of Edith sumtyme my wife which lieth a yenst their wher as the durr of our lady chapell was of oold tyme, in which place I will myn executors make to be leid a conuenient stone of marble with a remembrance of Imagery thereon of me and of the said Edithe and also of Elyanor my wife and of all my children with scriptur conuenient and accordyng to the tymes of our decessyng.†

1493. Julyan Hyckes:

To the sustentation of a taper in the chapell of our lady in the seyde monastery vj^s viij^d. (v. 211.)

1518. Thomas Harlow:

To be buryed wⁱⁿ the abbey of Sent Andrewe of Rochester in the chapell of oure lady next to my wyff and for my grave vj^s viij^d. (vii. 139.)

1526. Margaret Welles:

To be buried wⁱⁿ our lady chapell wⁱⁿ the monastery of Saynt Andrews of Rochester beside my husbaude. (viii. 46.)

1530. John Normanvile, esquire:

To be buried wⁱⁿ the Cath. Church of Rochester in the chapell of ou^r lady there. (viii. 273.)

Isabell Normanfeld, widow, makes a similar bequest in 1535. (ix. 258.)

Although, with the exception already noted, all the ancient grave-slabs disappeared when the transept was repaved, there can be little doubt that the whole of the documents quoted

* Reg. Stafford and Kemp, f. 263.

† P.C.C. Reg. 15 Wattys.

refer to one and the same chapel, and that it was in the south transept. All traces of the altar have unfortunately been obliterated, but the little doorway at the west end of the quire aisle, and the vestry door south of the site,* shew by their sills that they opened from the platform of an important altar, such as that of Our Lady of course was. From these door levels it is not improbable that the altar stood on a step of its own, on a platform raised three steps above the level of the transept. The back of the altar recess is plastered over and partly covered by monuments, but the soffit of the arch still bears traces of coloured decoration. The whole of the wall above it, as far as the northernmost vaulting shaft, has also been covered with painting. Three tiers of tall canopied figures of saints can still be made out, as well as two smaller kneeling figures of a man and his wife, one on either side of the arch. The arches on the south side of the chapel also bear traces of colour. The easternmost recess on this side has, just below the window, traces of the insertion of a canopy† of some kind. This may have covered a sculptured representation of the Nativity of Our Lord, or "Our Lady in Jeson" as it was called, which stood somewhere in this chapel. Two references to it occur in wills:

1493. Julyan Hyckes, maid:

My purse of golde to be offeryd w^t y^r botons of sylver
and gilt to the byrth of Ihu wⁱⁿ the chapell of ou^r lady
in the seyde monastery. (v. 211.)

1501. Richard Qwyk:

I bequeth to our lady in Jeson a pursse of gold &
peryl x corall stones to be brouderyd a boutte itt and v^d in
money. (v. 411^b.)

In the treasurer's accounts for 1548 is an entry: "Item payd unto Jhoñ Pyle and Jhoñ Watts for takyng down of the Jesye xvij^d," which may refer to the carving in question, but there may also have been a Tree of Jesse somewhere in the church, of which we have no other record.

* The sill of this door is 33 inches from the floor.

† These traces have lately been almost entirely obliterated by a tablet referring to the painted glass above, one of a large series of similar blots with which the walls of the church are disfigured.

From the restriction of the painting on the east wall to two bays it is probable that there was a screen across the transept on the line of the northernmost pair of vaulting shafts, and this is borne out by the reference in Edmund Chertsey's will to "the durr of our lady chapell." No other traces of the screen now remain.

The large addition westwards to the area of the chapel, made in the late-Perpendicular period, was probably to afford

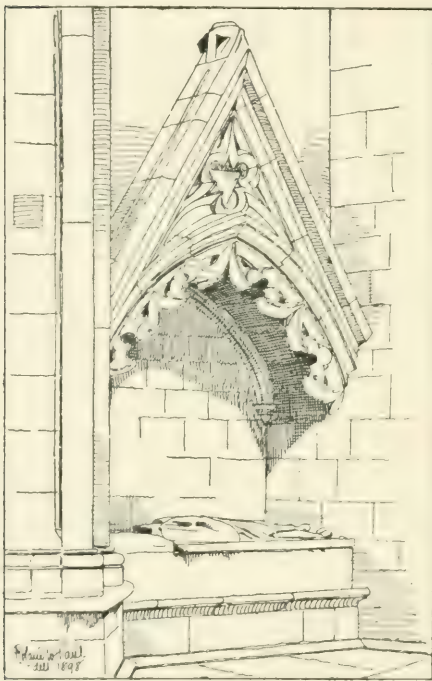


FIG. 35.—CANOPIED TOMB OF BISHOP JOHN OF BRADFIELD, 1278—1283.

room for a quire, arranged much in the same way as the Lady Chapel at Winchester still is. After the middle of the sixteenth century the stalls, etc., would be destroyed, and henceforth the chapel was fitted up as a consistory court, as shewn in the old plans of the church.

The south aisle of the quire seems to have been used for the most part as a sort of lobby between the cloister and the church. The large space west of the cloister door would be available for presses for copes, vestments, or other church gear, but no record of them exists, and

the repaving has swept away whatever traces there may have been on the floor.

Near the west end of the aisle, at about 8 feet from the pavement, is a pipe or tube, about 3 inches in diameter, cut in ashlar blocks and running through the quire wall. The same peculiarity exists on the north, though blocked externally by bishop Hamo's tomb. The object of these is a puzzle.

They open in the quire at about the level of a man's ear when sitting, but are now hidden by the stalls.

Immediately to the west of the buttress at the top of the stairs leading down to the crypt is a recessed tomb. It bears a mutilated effigy in a chasuble, holding a book in the right hand and staff in the left. The head and lower part of the figure are missing, but the sleeves of the albe, tunic, and dalmatic, appear at the wrists, and prove that it represents a bishop. It is usually ascribed to John of Bradfield, who died in 1283, and was buried in the south part of the church *juxta ostium crubitorum*.^{*} So the MS. plainly has it, but what does the last word mean? Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite suggests "crypts," which fits very well. The effigy, which is executed in very low relief, seems earlier than 1283. It is surmounted by a straight-sided pedimental canopy with remarkable cusps. (Fig. 35.) The style of this agrees better with the date of the bishop's decease.

Just to the east of the cloister door is a wide and plain trefoiled arched recess. It perhaps formed part of the stone cloister built by bishop Gilbert of Glanville (1185—1211), and when the wall of that was absorbed into the aisle, was put to some other use, such as a lavatory. Beyond it are two semi-circular arches; these also belong to the old cloister.

The flight of marble steps at the east end of the aisle is that by which the monks ascended on their way from the cloister to the quire. The doorway at the top has been moved from the other end of the aisle, as already stated, but there is nothing to shew that it displaced or succeeded another.

The transept into which it opens has in the south wall a central recess, between two small doorways, containing a stone coffin; the marble lid of this has a cross with foliated stem, but there is nothing to indicate whom it covers. The two doorways led to staircases: the one descending to the crypt, the other ascending to the triforium and the chamber

^{*} "MCCC·LXXXIII". Obiit Johannes episcopus Roffensis in die Sancti Georgii martyris et sepultus est in ecclesia eadem a parte australi juxta ostium crubitorum." So Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 181, but Wharton in *Antiqua Sacra*, ii. 350, prints the last word *excrubitorum*. John of Bradfield was bishop from 1278 to 1283.

over the aisle; but both stairs are now blocked for the greater security of this part of the fabric. The aisle on the east of the transept originally contained certainly one altar, but if there was another it must have been done away with in the fourteenth century, when the well-known doorway with figures of the Church and Synagogue was inserted, probably by bishop Hamo of Hythe. The dedications of these altars cannot at present be identified. It is possible, however, that the surviving altar was that at which bishop Hamo of Hythe founded a chantry for two priests on 30th April 1346, and enriched with sets of vestments and other necessary ornaments.* The deed of foundation unfortunately does not specify the altar. Perhaps it was the altar of St. Peter to which the lady Cecily of Sheppey, by counsel of Osbern of Sheppey, gave a window when this part of the church was building.† This window must in that case have given way to the fourteenth-century one subsequently inserted over the altar, probably by bishop Hamo. All traces of an altar or altars here have been obliterated.

The enriched doorway described above opened into the vestry, but it was no doubt built as the entrance to the way by which the monks had direct access to the dormer, as in the parallel case at Canterbury. The building into which it opens is two-storied. The lower story is certainly as old as the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and its south wall may be even older. It was in connexion with the cloister, and was among the buildings assigned to the Dean at the Suppression, when it was described as "a vault for the deanes woodehouse lying under the vestrie." The upper floor has been so much altered that only its north wall and part of the south wall can be called old; all its windows have been modernized, and all its old fittings destroyed. Since the dismantling of the Norman chapter-house it has served as the library and meeting-room of the Dean and

* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 554.

† "Osbernus de Sapeia postea prior [1186—1199] . . . per consilium ejus dedit domina Cecilia de Sapeia calicem argenteum et deauratum et albam paratam cum amietu suo de aurifriso et fenestram ad altare sancti Petri et duodecim denariatas redditus." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 89; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121, 675.

Chapter. The western end is partitioned off as a lobby, which until lately was also the choristers' vestry; it also contains a modern fire-proof muniment room.

The list of benefactions contains several items relating to vestry furniture, but there is of course nothing to shew if they were placed in the building just described :

Radulfus [de Ros] prior [in 1199 & 1202]
armarium ad cereos et ad ceram et ad candelam reponendam
fieri fecit, quod modo in duas partes serratum est.

Helyas prior [after 1202 & before 1222] . . . materiem
ad faciendum triangulum ad capas reponendas comparavit.

Petrus precentor inter multa alia bona que fecit armarium
ad gradalia et psalteria reponenda fieri fecit, quod modo in
duas partes cissum est.*

The cutting in two of the wax cupboard and the book almyer evidently points to their removal to some other part of the church than that where they at first stood.

No inventories of the vestry have been preserved, but it is clear from the large number of gifts recorded in the list of benefactions and elsewhere that it was very well furnished with vestments and other *ornamenta*.

Although the divisions have long disappeared, there can be little doubt that the eastern transepts were screened or walled off, after the usual fashion, from the quire and presbytery.† The arrangements of these have of course undergone considerable alteration from time to time, but so much has been left, or disclosed in successive "restorations," that their recovery is fairly certain.

The quire still retains a good deal of what are certainly the oldest wooden quire fittings in England, no doubt those placed in it against the *introitus in novum chorum* in 1227. They include the wooden screen which forms the eastern face of the *pulpitum* or organ loft, portions of the old stalls, and almost the whole of the original forms in front of them, as well as some later desks with which they were enclosed in

* Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, ff. 89-90, 91^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 122, 124.

† On the south side the line of the screen seems to be indicated by a piece of the old pavement near the bishop's seat.

1541. When the arrangement then made was first altered is uncertain, but various names and dates scratched upon the old painted decoration of the quire walls shew that it was not until after the sixteenth century. An injunction of archbishop Laud "that there should be a new fair desk in the choir,"* and the statement of "Mercurius Rusticus" that "the seats and stalls of the quire escaped breaking down" during the troubles of the Great Rebellion,† do not help us much. Perhaps the old state of things continued until the eighteenth century, when Mr. Denne says: "Very considerable alterations and improvements were made in the choir in the years 1742 and 1743, under the direction of Mr. Sloane. New stalls and pews were erected, the partition walls wainscoted, and the pavement laid with Bremen and Portland stone beautifully disposed. The choir was also newly furnished. The episcopal throne, which is opposite to the pulpit, was erected at the expense of Dr. Joseph Wilcocks, at that time bishop of the diocese."‡

The state of things thus created is shewn in Plate 7 of Storer's account of the church. It represents the transept as shut off by a tall panelled screen, in front of which rise five tiers of seats. Similar panelling is shewn against the quire wall, extending up to the first string-course. The throne given by bishop Wilcocks is of classical design, surmounted by a mitre.

During the repair of the quire and presbytery under Mr. Cottingham, in 1825-6, most of this eighteenth-century wood-work was swept away. A new throne and pulpit, new seats for the choir, and elaborate canopies over the returned stalls, all of the most approved "Gothic," were set up, from the designs of Mr. Blore. A case to match was also made for the organ,§ and the west front of the *pulpitum* covered with panelling and tabernacle work. All was of the flimsiest character, of

* Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 180.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* 183.

§ The organs were first given by bishop Gilbert of Glanville (1185—1214), who among other benefits to the prior and convent, *organa nobis fieri fecit*. (Thorpe, *Regestrum Roffense*, 633.) No further mention of them occurs until 1634, when the Dean and Chapter reported to archbishop Laud that "there hath been of late years upon the fabric of the church, and making of the organs expended by the church above one thousand pounds." (Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 180.) The present organs were made by Green in 1791.

deal painted and grained in imitation of oak, and with crockets and finials cast in plaster-of-Paris and glued on and painted.

These fittings in their turn were taken away by Sir G. Gilbert Scott to make room for the present arrangements; and it was during the alterations then made that there were brought to light the considerable remains of the thirteenth-century woodwork already noted.

By the removal of the canopies at the west end the old face of the organ loft was disclosed. The lower part of it was formed of plain wooden panelling, rising above the stalls for several feet, and decorated with rude thirteenth-century painting. Above this was an open arcade of small trefoiled arches carried by slender octagonal shafts, but now boarded up and painted. The southern doorpost, the only ancient one, has some remains of the carved figure of an angel, perhaps in connexion with a canopy over the bishop's stall, which was the first on the right of the entrance. The prior's stall was the first on the left.

On the removal of the pews the lower parts of the stalls were found to be tolerably complete on both sides, and sufficient pieces were discovered to enable almost the whole design to be made out and reproduced. There was only one row, of twenty-two stalls, on each side, and probably four returned stalls, making fifty-two in all; but all traces of the returned stalls and the whole of the misericords had disappeared.

In front of the seats is a low wooden form, divided by gangways into three lengths. Each length consists of a series of trefoiled arches carried by slender octagonal shafts, with stout ones at the ends, and supporting a thick slab of oak. As the top of this is only 22½ inches from the platform these forms could hardly have been used for books, for the monks used none save those that lay on the great lectern in the middle of the quire, but were for the brethren to rest their elbows on when they were kneeling *prostrati super formas* during certain parts of the services. These curious fittings, which retain a good deal of their original painted decoration, owe their almost perfect preservation to their conversion into bookshelves by being enclosed by higher panelled desks in 1541

for the convenience of the newly-appointed secular Chapter. These later desks, which are characteristic examples of their date, were removed by Sir G. Gilbert Scott to serve for a lower row of seats, and replaced by new bookboards carried by iron standards fixed to the old forms, which were then repaired and once more exposed to view.* The new stalls and misericords are as nearly as possible on the old lines.

On lowering the stalls to their original level the remains of an interesting heraldic diaper with which the walls had been painted were disclosed, and further portions were found behind the canopies at the west end. From these remains the whole pattern has been recovered and reproduced from end to end of the quire. It consists of a series of quatrefoils enclosing golden lions of England on a red ground, with blue interspaces, each charged with a gold fleur-de-lis of France. Along the bottom is a narrow band of flowers and interlaced ribbon work, and at the top a broader band of panels of ribbon work alternating with green panels, each containing a shield.† These have been filled with the armorial bearings of bishops of Rochester, and are amongst the best examples of modern heraldic painting to be seen anywhere. Other armorial ensigns, also modern, have been painted on the panels of the screen. The prior's stall was evidently covered with some kind of canopy at the time of the painting of the heraldic diaper, for the panelling behind it retained the old thirteenth-century decoration. To preserve this the panels have been taken out and preserved under glass.

On taking down the pulpit, which stood opposite the bishop's throne, Mr. Cottingham found on the flat surface of the wall the greater part of a representation of the Wheel of Fortune. This and the other paintings of the quire, with which it is contemporary, are probably of the time of bishop Hamo of Hythe (1319—1352), who caused various works to be

* From a valuable note on the quire fittings, by Mr. C. R. Baker King, in *Spring Gardens Note Book*, ii. 75, from which some of the above particulars relating to the stalls have been taken. A drawing of the stalls, of which these notes are descriptive, by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, is given in *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, vol. ii. plate xlv.

† For further descriptions and illustrations of this decoration see a paper by the Rev. Canon Scott Robertson in *Archæologia Cantiana*, X. 70-74. The ingenious disposition of the ribbon work is well worthy of notice.

done in the church between 1340 and 1350. As the heraldic diaper is obviously derived from the quartered royal arms of Edward III., first adopted by him in 1340, it cannot be earlier than this date.

Although we have no record of the fact, it is probable that the bishop's throne at the east end of the southern row of stalls was set up by Hamo of Hythe at about the same time that such thrones were being erected at Exeter, Wells, Durham, and elsewhere. It certainly occupied this position at Rochester in the fifteenth century, for bishop John Lowe in his will, dated 1463, desires to be buried *ex opposito sedis episcopalis* (see *post*). Nothing is known of the throne displaced by bishop Wilcocks in 1742-3. In the treasurer's accounts for 1675 is a payment of £1 6s. 8d. "ffor purple bayes to line Bpps seate."

The earliest notice of a pulpit occurs in the treasurer's accounts for 1591 :

Item the making of the new pulpit wth Iron, wainscote, etc.
v^{li} v^s xj^d.

As there is no record of a new one in 1742-3, the old pulpit may have remained till the refitting of the quire by Mr. Cottingham. The pulpit erected by him is now in the nave, and a new one by Sir G. Gilbert Scott has taken its place, but on another site, against the north-east pier of the crossing.

There used to be an old brass eagle desk in the quire, but it has disappeared and been replaced by a modern one. In the accounts for 1676 is an entry :

Pd. Bayly the Sexton for cleaning the Eagle
for one year due at Mich. 1676 . . . 0 : 10 : 0

At the east end of the stalls is an ascent of three steps to the space between the two transepts. As the presbytery proper is east of this, there can be little doubt that in this area, as in other Benedictine churches, stood the quire altar. This is the altar mentioned in the *Custumal* in connexion with the obit of bishop Odo of Bayeux as the *minus altare*.*

* Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 37. At Worcester the corresponding altar was called the *medium altare*, and was dedicated in 1218 in honour of St. Peter and St. Wolstan. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 484.

It would thus have stood nearly upon the site of the old high altar, with perhaps, as at Ely and Bury St. Edmunds, a low wall behind it, pierced with two doors.* The side screens or walls that shut off the transepts from this part of the quire would also have doors in them, the *ostia presbyterii* as they were usually called.

The westernmost bay of the presbytery is raised one step above the level of the crossing (which is original), and has in the centre of the floor a large slab with the casement of the brass of a bishop. The arch on the north side is filled with the tomb and effigy of bishop John of Sheppey (1353—1360). The southern arch was also probably closed originally, but is now crossed by a low screen of sixteenth-century ironwork, in which is a gate.

Owing to the many alterations in the arrangements and levels of the rest of the presbytery it is not easy to make out the successive changes it has undergone. The high altar has occupied certainly three different sites. Leaving for the present the consideration of its position, etc. before and immediately after the changes of 1549, we have first an injunction of archbishop Laud "that the communion table be placed at the east end of the choir in a decent manner, and a fair rail put up to go cross the choir as in other cathedral churches."† During the troubles of 1641 this rail was broken down and the altar removed "into a lower part of the church."‡ Of the replacement and decoration of the altar at the Restoration we have no note. The state of things in the eighteenth century is thus described by Mr. Denne: "The altar piece, which is made of Norway oak, is plain and neat, and was probably constructed in 1707, there being a chapter act, dated June 2, to empower Mr. Crompe, the chapter clerk, to sign an agreement with Mr. Coppinger

* For particulars concerning the "base altar," as it was called at Ely, see the Rev. D. J. Stewart's *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London, 1868), 112, 113. The Bury altar is twice mentioned in the account of the abbots: "Baldewinus Abbas (1065—1097) sepultus est in presbiterio in eadem ecclesia juxta murum retro parvum altare in choro. Johannes primus (1279—1301) sepultus est coram parvo altari in choro." M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, xxviii. 1895), 180, 181.

† Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 180.

‡ *Ibid.*

for a new altar-piece In 1752 when archbishop Herring, who was many years dean of this cathedral, gave fifty pounds towards furnishing and ornamenting this part of the church, there was only a pannel of wainscot in the middle, in the place of which was fixed a large piece of rich velvet in a frame elegantly carved and gilt. This was removed a few year ago; and it is now decorated with a picture of the angels appearing to the shepherds, by Mr. West, from an unknown benefactor.”*

The plan that accompanies Mr. Denne’s account shews the altar at the east end on a platform of three steps, the topmost of which is checkered. Between the third and fourth bays are drawn four parallel lines, which represent the altar rail and perhaps two steps. The existing step across the next bay is not shewn, nor are others in the eastern part of the church, which were certainly there then. Storer’s plan (1816) shews a similar arrangement of the altar and its steps, but his other lines are unreliable through their confusion with the diagram of the vaulting.

At the beginning of 1825 the arrangements above described were entirely altered by Mr. Cottingham who, according to an account in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, “commenced the improvements by taking down the Corinthian altar-piece, put up at the Reformation, which has brought to view the whole of the original composition of the East end of the choir, consisting of three beautiful gothic arched recesses and windows, in the purest style of the thirteenth century, and on scraping off the whitewash, the decorations of the high altar appeared nearly all in their pristine glory; consisting of birds and beasts, fleurs de lis, lilies, crescents, stars, scroll-foliage, fleury-crosses, lace-work borders, etc., arranged in the most beautiful order, and finely contrasted in the colours, which consist of the brightest crimsons, purples, azures, greens, etc.”† A later account in the same publication also describes the removal of “the old and ugly oaken altar-screen” and the opening out of the three recesses in the east wall. “In the intercolumniations,” it continues, “are windows, and below

* Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 183.

† *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, xcv. part i. (January—June 1825) 76.

each is a cross in a circle painted on the wall.”* These crosses are clearly three of the twelve inside the building† that were anointed at the consecration of the church in 1240. Unfortunately they and the rest of the painted decoration disclosed by Mr. Cottingham have since been obliterated. The disposition of the steps, etc., as rearranged in 1825, was as follows: The step at the entrance of the presbytery remained as of old. In the next bay was a single step, and another a few feet further east, between the third and fourth bays, on which was the altar rail. The four bays beyond were on one level, and the altar stood against the east wall without any steps under it. The new arrangement is shewn in the plan published by Winkles in 1838.‡

In 1873 Mr. Cottingham's arrangements were entirely swept away by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, and the presbytery reduced to its original level. In the middle of it were disclosed what seem to have been the remains of the thirteenth-century altar steps, and of a continuation of its platform eastwards, for notes of which I am much indebted to Mr. C. R. Baker King.§

They consisted of a short length of the lowest step on the north side, and a longer piece on the south, immediately opposite the group of vaulting shafts between the second and third bays. Upon these rested the remains of walling, of plastered rubble to the east of the shafts, of ashlar work to the west of them. These were not however in line, the ashlar wall being set back 1 foot from the edge of the step, and the plastered wall only 8 inches. The dividing line falls exactly between the vaulting shafts, and if the high altar were on the west of this line, it would stand immediately over the early-English supports built in the crypt below to carry its weight. This then would seem to have been its original position from the thirteenth century onwards. The platform was 17 feet

* *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xcvi. part ii. (July—December 1825) 225.

† There were twelve outside as well, though all traces of them have now gone.

‡ Winkles's *Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (London, 1838), i. 106.

§ Photographs were fortunately taken of these remains, copies of which were given to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. King, who had charge of the works under Sir G. Gilbert Scott.

3½ inches wide and rested upon the presbytery floor, which was apparently of one level from the east wall to about the foot of the bishop's grave-slab in the fifth bay. Mr. King tells me this level had been paved with 4¼-inch tiles, as shown by their mortar beds, which alone remained. How far westward the platform extended could not be ascertained, and its height is uncertain, but there were probably three steps up to the altar. As the presbytery is 28 feet wide the altar would not have been less than 11 or 12 feet long, and may even have been longer. Behind it was a wall or reredos of some kind extending from side to side, and over this was the beam which Richard of Walden the sacrist wrought with his own hands, with the apostles carved upon it and a figure of St. Andrew standing above.* The "almery with relics" which he also made not unlikely stood in the recess west of bishop Gilbert's tomb, or in that opposite. The platform was continued behind the altar for at least 10 feet, but with a reduced height of 15½ inches instead of the 23 inches on which the altar seems to have been elevated. The lower height is fixed by a large slab east of the platform, bearing the casement of the brass of Sir William Arundel, K.G., governor of the castle and city of Rochester, who died in 1400, and by his will desired to be buried *in Prioratu Roucestr' a tergo majoris altaris*,† and his wife Agnes‡ who, by her will dated 6th September 1401, desires to be buried *in ecclesia prioratus Sancti Andree Roffensis et sub eadem tumba ubi pinguntur figure domini mei et mee*.§ The brass represented the knight and lady with clasped

* "Ricardus de Waldene monachus sacrista . . . propriis manibus fecit trabem supra majus altare cum apostolis in eadem incisus, et Andream supra stantem. et Almarium cum Reliquiis et libros plures." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 92; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 125. The high altar of the Norman church had been decorated by Lanfranc with a silver frontal (*tabulam argenteam*), to which bishop Ernulf added ornaments of enamel (*accrevit duas listas de esmalto*). The mother of William de Elintune, son of Ansfrid the sheriff, gave "pallium optimum, quod solet esse principale ad majus altare, absente tabula argentea, et crucem pulcherrimam de argento, que vendita est pro redemptione R[icardi] regis." *Ibid.* f. 87^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 119, 120. The silver table was stolen by King John in 1215 when "depredata ecclesia Roffensis. et tota civitas. adeo ut nec busta cum corpore domini super magnum altare monachorum remaneret." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 31^b.

† Reg. Arundel, i. f. 172^b.

‡ See a paper by Mr. W. B. Rye in *Archæologia Cantiana*, XIII. 141.

§ Reg. Arundel, i. f. 183.

hands beneath a canopy. What stood upon the platform is uncertain. Analogy would suggest a shrine or shrines. That of St. William, as will be seen below, was placed elsewhere, but there were two others in the church, of St. Paulinus* and St. Ythamar,† which bishop Hamo of Hythe in 1344 “caused to be made anew of marble and alabaster, for which renewal he gave 200 marks.” Some fragments of richly carved marble, which perhaps formed part of one or other of these shrines, or were worked for them, were found by Mr. Cottingham in the casing of the old steeple when he built the central tower.‡ The amount spent upon the two shrines (at least £1500 according to present value) shews that they were standing structures, and not mere ornamented coffers or boxes of bones.§

How long the arrangements described continued unchanged is not known, but by the end of the fourteenth century some alterations seem to have been made in the levels, as is proved by the existing sedilia, which were then inserted immediately to the south of the altar. The seat of these is 2 feet 10 inches above the old floor, but if the levels of this were raised two steps to the height of the (later) Arundel slab, the sedilia would be only 18½ inches above, which is a convenient height for a seat. The sedilia are triple and of late-Decorated date with crocketed canopies and super-canopy. They bear the arms of (1) the church of Rochester, *Argent, on a cross of St. Andrew gules an escallop or*; (2) the church of Canterbury,

* See p. 199 *ante*. During the episcopate of bishop Gilbert “magna fuerat perturbacio in ecclesia Roffensi. cujus occasione prior et conventus multa bona una cum argento quo venerabilis Lamfrancus feretrum sancti Paulini decoraverat: in placito inter eos et episcopum vendiderunt.” Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 127; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 346.

† “Episcopus circa festum Sancti Michaelis feretra sanctorum Paulini et Ythamari de marmore et alabaistro fecit renovare: pro qua quidem renovacione ducentas marcas dedit.” Cott. MS. Faustina B. 5, f. 90; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 375.

‡ See one of the plates in *Some Account of an Ancient Tomb, etc., discovered at Rochester Cathedral*, by L. N. Cottingham, *Arch.* (London, J. Taylor, 59 High Holborn, n.d.)

§ They were at an even earlier date of sufficient importance and popular repute for the King to make offerings at, for the Wardrobe Account of 28 Edward I. (1299—1300) has this entry:

Oblaciones Regis Regine et filij sui	Eodem die (27 Feb.) in oblacionibus factis nomine Regis per dominum Radulfum de Staunford in ecclesia Prioratus Roffensis ad feretra sanctorum Itomari et Paulini quolibet loco vijs. . . . Summa xiiij ^s . Soc. Antiq. Lond. MS. 119, f. 33.
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Azure, on a cross argent the abbreviation Xⁱ (Christi) sable : (3). *Argent, a cross quarter-pierced azure,* for bishop Thomas Brinton, 1373—1389.* The only other trace of the old ritual arrangements of the presbytery is a small pointed and elaborately-cusped recess in the first bay on the north side, apparently to hold a cistern or lavatory. It is 3 feet 6½ inches above the bench filling the bay, and has a slightly projecting ledge in front, with a long narrow sinking, from which a drain runs away towards the back. Beneath is a small cupboard with tile floor and smoke flue. In connexion with the high altar it may be noted that in the sacrist's account for 1512-13 is a payment of 6*d.* "pro j corde pro le basons coram summo altari."†

The present arrangements by Sir G. Gilbert Scott nearly reproduce those of the thirteenth century, but the altar and its platform have been set a bay too far east. To accommodate the unsatisfactory and top-heavy reredos the Arundel slab has been moved about 2 feet further east.

Before leaving the presbytery some reference must be made to the tombs it contains.

The casement of the brass of a bishop at its west end has already been noticed. Its slab is 9 feet 6¾ inches and 3 feet 10¾ inches wide, and bore a life-size effigy of the bishop, with apparently a representation above his head of his soul being carried up to Heaven in a sheet. On either side were two shields, and the whole composition was surrounded by a marginal inscription interrupted by six roundels. The brass may have commemorated bishop John of Bottlesham, 1400—1404. Thorpe's plan shews a slab lying immediately in front of the

* These arms also appear on the bishop's seal of dignity.

† Before the high altar at Durham "were three marvelous faire silver BASINS hung in chaines of silver; one of them did hange in the south side of the Quire, above the stepps that go upp to the High Altar, the second on the north side opposite to the first, the third, in the midst, betweene them both, and just before the High Altar. Theise three silver basons had lattin basons within them, havinge pricks for serges, or great wax candles, to stand on, the lattin basons beinge to receive the drops of the candles, which did burne continually, both day and night, in token that the House was alwayes watchinge to God. There was also another silver bason, which did hang in silver chaines before the Sacrament of the foresaid High Altar, but nerer to the High Altar than the other three, as almost dependinge or hanginge over the priests back, which was only lighted in time of masse and ther after extinguished." *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society 15), 12. Probably a similar arrangement existed at Rochester.

sedilia, which was supposed to mark the place of bishop John of Sheppey's burial. Mr. Denne describes it as "a flat stone that was removed when the choir was new-paved in 1743."* The casement of the Arundel brass has been referred to above.



FIG. 36.—MARBLE TOMB ASCRIBED TO BISHOP GILBERT OF GLANVILLE, 1185—1214.

In the recess westward of the sedilia is an interesting early thirteenth-century Purbeck marble coped coffin-lid, which has lately been rescued from the crypt through the exertions of Mr. G. Payne, F.S.A. It has a roll moulding

* Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 202.

along its ridge, from which leaves and curls of leafwork diverge.*

In the first bay on the south side is a large Purbeck marble coffin covered by rough plain slabs. It is traditionally assigned to bishop Gundulf, but I know not upon what authority.

In the third bay on the north side, opposite the sedilia, is the tomb generally ascribed to bishop Gilbert of Glanville. It is a Purbeck marble sarcophagus with an arcade of seven arches filled with foliage in front, and a sloping roof, now mutilated and restored with rough stone, but originally adorned with seven busts. Four of these issued from lozenge-shaped openings, and the other three were set in quatrefoils, the openings and quatrefoils being placed alternately.† (Fig. 36.) The existence of this tomb, if it is *in situ*, shews that the presbytery was completed before 1214, the date of the bishop's death. He appears to have been continually quarrelling with the prior and convent, and the chronicler, in recording his death, adds with uncharitable glee that he was buried like Jews and heretics, without the Divine offices, because he died during the Interdict, and that as soon as he was dead and buried the Interdict was removed.‡

The next bay to the east contains the tomb of bishop Laurence of St. Martin, 1251—1274.§ The effigy is a fine

* The foot has been cut away and hollowed to fit against a semi-circular shaft or pillar. Mr. Irvine suggests the slab was placed against one of the fourth pair of pillars in the nave, and removed at the repaving.

† See Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, plate xlii.

‡ 1214. "Defunctus est autem predictus. G. primus ecclesie Roffensis perturbator, et sepultus a parte boriali predictae basilice inter fundatores confundator sic saul inter prophetas. cujus sepulchro titulum satis ei competentem patres predecessores imposuerunt. qui sic incipit.

Laude Dei clausa fuit hic hac clausus in aula.

Luce Jovis lux septima mesta silencia fregit.

Congrue laude dei clausa moritur. cujus vita laudem canentium ora conclusit plurimorum. Et ut aperte dicamus: in tantum in eum ut creditur ulcio divina excrevit. ut sancta ecclesia qui pro hereticis et perfidis Judeis exorat: in transitu istius nequaquam divina celebrare permitteretur. Quia ipso vivente per septennium duravit tocus anglie Interdictum. Quo defuncto et tumulto. statim solutum est interdictum." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 127^b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 347. The tomb should be compared with that of archbishop Hubert Walter (1193—1205) in the chapel of St. Thomas at Canterbury, from which it was probably copied.

§ "M^{CC}°LXXIII. Obiit Laurentius Roffensis episcopus in crastino sanctorum Marcellini et Petri. et sepultus honorifice in basilica sedis sue juxta majus altare a parte boriali." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 178^b. For an engraving of the effigy

one, with a magnificent canopy above the head, wrought with great minuteness of detail in Purbeck marble. It covers a coffin of the same material.

In the opposite bay lies the Purbeck marble coffin and effigy of bishop Thomas of Ingoldesthorpe, 1283—1291.* The figure and its canopy are evidently by the same hand as bishop Laurence's effigy, but in a plainer style.†

It is curious that although the two effigies just described are placed in recesses, the side of each next the wall, which is consequently not seen, is as carefully carved as that towards the presbytery. The figures would therefore appear to have been brought ready-made, or carved for some other place; or they may have originally occupied another position where both sides were visible, such as under the arches at the west end of the presbytery, whence they were afterwards moved to their present sites.

The northern of these two arches is now filled by the monument of bishop John of Sheppey, 1353—1360. It was found walled up, during the alterations in the presbytery, by Mr. Cottingham on 25th January 1825,‡ and consists of its original tomb and elaborately painted effigy, with a modern canopy copied from what was found of the old one. The effigy is carved in clunch, and represents the bishop in amice and alb with brown and gold apparels, pink dalmatic diapered with black flowers, and red chasuble lined with green and powdered with a gold cruciform device. The gloves are white with jewelled backs, and from the left wrist hangs a golden fanon set with crystals. The tunicle and stole are not shewn. The crosier has a napkin twisted round it, but the crook, which was fixed into the staff by a peg, has been lost; perhaps

see Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, plate xliii. Another, but apparently unfinished, engraving of the effigy was published in 1841 by T. and G. Hollis in their *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*.

* "M^{ccc}XCi". Eodem anno obiit bone memorie magister Thomas de Ynglesthorpe episcopus Roffensis, videlicet in festo sanctorum Nerei Achillei atque Pancratii, cujus corpus xvj^o kl. Julii videlicet die Jovis proxima ante festum Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi traditum fuit sepulture cum sollempnitate debita in eadem ecclesia juxta magnum altare ex parte australi." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 183^b. Compare above from the original with the version printed by Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 350.

† See Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, plate xliii.

‡ See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xcv. part i. (January—June 1825) 76, and xcv. part ii. (July—December 1825) 225, 226; also a paper by Mr. A. J. Kempe in *Archæologia*, xxv. 122-126, where the tomb, effigy, and details are carefully engraved (Plates vii. and viii.).

it was of metal. The face appears to be a likeness. The mitre is richly gilt and jewelled, and perhaps represents *mitram meam novam de opere Johannis de Coloigne*, which the bishop, by will dated 21st September 1360, bequeathed to the Prior and Chapter.* Beneath the head are two oblong cushions of different design. The feet are covered by white sandals with brown bands, and rest on two dogs, each adorned with a red collar with gold bells.†

Amongst the rubbish and stones with which the tomb was blocked up were a number of splendidly carved fragments, enriched with painting and gilding, and contemporary with the effigy. They include part of a figure of Our Lady and Child; portions of a group of the Coronation of the Virgin; pieces of angels with censers, scrolls, and musical instruments; some small figures under canopies, one being **MOYSES** with the tables of the Law; and some rich pieces of tabernacle work and cresting. These fragments, which are now in the crypt, probably formed part of the reredos of John of Sheppey's altar. From Weever's description, that "His portraiture is in the wall ouer his place of Buriall," the bishop's effigy seems to have been visible when he wrote.‡ It was apparently walled up in 1681, when a tall monument to archdeacon John Lee Warner (ob. 1679) was set up against its north side.§ The carved pieces were perhaps then used up on account of injuries they had received during the Great Rebellion, or because they were considered useless.

* Reg. Islip, 196^b.

† A correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine* (xcv. part ii. 226) says that after the discovery of the effigy "two drawings were made by a person of the name of Harris, employed by Mr. Cottingham the architect, one of which represents the effigy as it was found, and the other as Mr. Cottingham supposed it to have been, with the features perfect, and the figure highly coloured. After this Mr. Cottingham resolved on restoring the colours on the figure, in conformity with the latter drawing, which was accordingly done. . . . The painted beard is also an addition, as it was not there when first discovered. The dalmatic, instead of being a pink, is now of a dull scarlet, with a *green lining*, and the shoes are painted *yellow*." By dalmatic is here meant the chasuble, which is now red, while the dalmatic is actually pink. The sandals are as described by me. So far as I can see the original colouring of the effigy has not been tampered with. It, however, narrowly escaped destruction, for an ignorant painter who was sent down to varnish the effigy after its discovery actually repainted the whole! The new paint was fortunately removed before it was too late.

‡ J. Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments, etc.* (London, 1631), 314.

§ The following entries relating to this monument are in the *Chapter Act Book*, vol. iv.:

1680, 8th February. "Joⁿ Carr servant to Mr. Joⁿ Shorthose mason & Carver

The aisle of the north transept was made into a burying-place for the Warner family at the Restoration. It is raised somewhat above the general level to allow coffins to be buried between the floor and the crypt vault below, and has a black

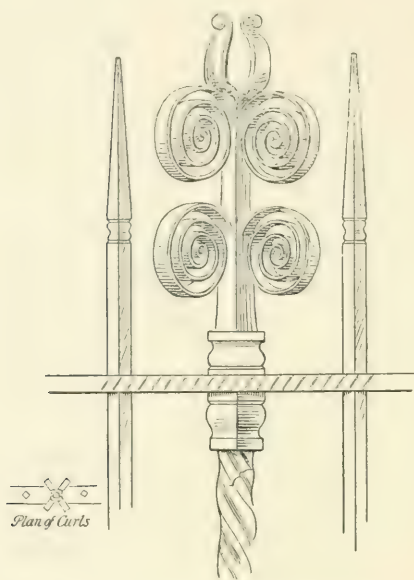


FIG. 37. —IRONWORK ON EAST SIDE OF NORTH QUIRE TRANSEPT.

(From a Drawing by Mr. J. T. Irvine.)

and in its south jamb is fixed a thirteenth-century marble

living in S' Clem^{ts} lane without Temple Barr, & two other of the servants of the said Mr. Shorthose brought this day a letter from Mr. Henry Lee directed to Mr. Deane concerning the placing of a monument for his father Dr. Lee Warner late a Prebendary & Vicedeane of this church."

1681, 22nd June. "Ordered by consent of the whole chapter y^t the Monum^t brought lately down for Mr. Archdeacon Warner al[ia]s Lee be forthwth erected or sett upp in y^e place where y^e same is begune in Cathedrall Church and that there shalbe noe more hindrance of y^e same And that the inscrip^{co}n be as itt is now only altering the word principalis." [This entry is cancelled.]

1681, 10th December. "Memorand It is fully agreed That the monument for the late Archdeacon Bee put upp wth the inscription as itt is now ingraven in the same place of this Cathedral where the same is begune to be sett upp:—And that Mr. Lee his sonn & executor may send his workmen to doe the same when he thinke fitt."

See also Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 229, for further particulars.

and white marble pavement. Against the north wall, and partly concealing the arcade there, is the monument of John Warner, bishop of Rochester 1637-8—1666, and against the east wall one to Lee Warner, Esq., eldest son of the archdeacon, who died in 1698. The archdeacon's monument was moved by Mr. Cottingham to its present position under the northern of the two arches opening from the transept. The southern arch is closed by some interesting sixteenth-century ironwork (FIG. 37), placed here in 1681,

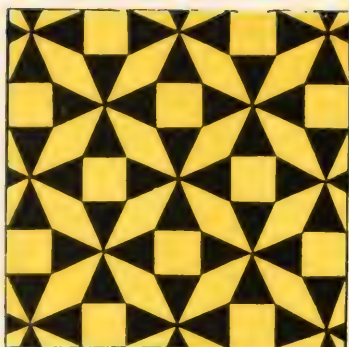


Fig. 1.

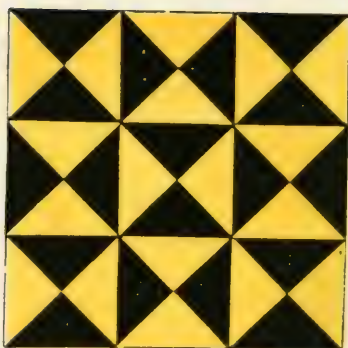


Fig. 2.

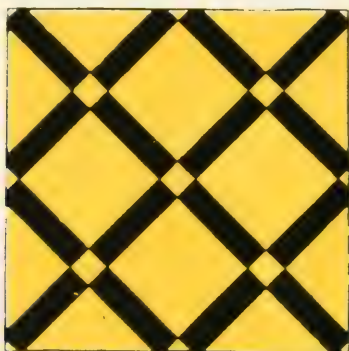
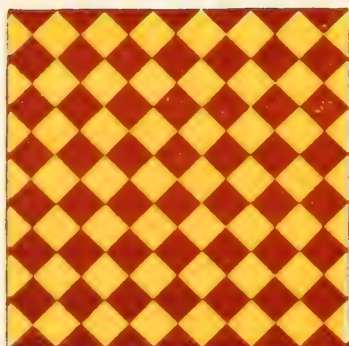


Fig. 3.



EARLY TILE PAVING,
IN ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

bracket for an image. Both arches retain valuable specimens of the original thirteenth-century mosaic tile-paving. (See PLATE IV.) The space above the aisle, which is reached by a wide staircase at its north-east corner, is and appears always to have been the treasury.

Whether one or two altars stood in this aisle is uncertain. According to the list of benefactions bishop Gilbert of Glanville, when the "new work" was building, gave *duas fenestras vitreas ad altare beatorum Johannis et Jacobi** This altar must therefore have had a front and a side window, or have stood between two windows. As there is nothing to shew that it was in the crypt, it is probable that it stood in this aisle.† This seems to be borne out by the fact that bishop John of Sheppey founded a chantry at an altar of St. John Baptist in his cathedral church,‡ beside which his tomb was afterwards placed. It is singular, however, that his will makes no mention of tomb, altar, or chantry, and merely desires his body to be buried *in ecclesia Cathedrali Roffensi ubi executores mei infra nominati ordinaverint cum consensu Prioris*.§ The will of Sir John Drake, chaplain of the chantry of St. John Baptist's altar, dated 8th August 15 Henry VIII. (1523), contains the following interesting provisions:

Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in parte boriali navis ecclesie Cathedralis inter predecessores meos. Volo quod scabellum meum situatum juxta altare Sancti Johannis nuper per me in monasterio emptum non remanebit in eternum. Item. altari Sancti Johannis in monasterio unum le table cloth dyaper. Lego dompno Nicholao Dersingham monacho capud S^ci Johannis Baptiste.|| (vii. 305.)

The north-east transept, though of the same size and

* Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 89; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121.

† Among the documents of the Dean and Chapter are two charters relating to grants by Alan de Capella to Alexander the prior (1242—1252) and the convent of Rochester, to be paid annually *ad rubeum ostium ecclesie Roffensis*. One of these is endorsed: "Carte de quodam redditu pertinente ad duo altaria que fuerunt in antiquo opere antequam istud novum opus ecclesie inceptum." These were probably the altars at the ends of the Norman presbytery aisles; and if they were the altars of St. Peter and of St. John and St. James, which I have suggested stood in the new transept aisles, they would not be far removed from their old positions.

‡ Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 580.

§ Reg. Islip, f. 169^b.

|| See a paper on "The sculptured alabaster tablets called St John's Heads" in *Archæologia*, lii. 669-708.

general design as its fellow, differs from it in several respects. Its east side is similar, as are internally the second and third stages of its gable end; but the lowest stage is different, having originally had three recesses for tombs, instead of the single one between the two staircases to be found on the opposite side. The easternmost recess has a moulded arch at the back, and contains a marble coffin with a lid of the same material, carved with a floriated cross with a crutch-headed staff for a shaft. The wall behind is painted with a trailing vine pattern of green on a red ground, with white popinjays on the branches. Mr. Denne calls this the tomb of St. William, but adds that it "makes so mean an appearance as not to have merited the burin."* The tomb is probably that of one of the priors, either Ralph de Ros or his successor Helias.

The central recess contains the monument of bishop Walter of Merton, 1274—1277, who "was honourably buried in the church in the north part beside the tomb of St. William."† The tomb was originally of Limoges enamel, probably of wood with an effigy of the bishop covered with metal plates, like that of William of Valentia in the abbey church of Westminster, the whole being placed under a stone canopy, with a double window pierced in the wall behind to throw light on the effigy. The accounts for the making of it have fortunately been preserved.‡ From them we learn

* Concerning this tomb, Mr. Denne further remarks: "Whatever decorations it may have had, these have been long since defaced or pillaged; and all that remains is a bar of iron upon the cover, which, being in the form of a palmer's staff, serves to denote the class of the person here deposited. This is, however, loose, as if an attempt had been made to wrench it off; and had it succeeded it would probably have been sold to John Wyld, a shoe-maker in Rochester, who is upon record for having purchased all the ironwork torn from the monuments in this cathedral by the church reformers in the last century [Dean and Chapter's Answer to Bishop Warner's Articles of Enquiry, September 12, 1662]." Thorpe, *Customale Roffense*, 170. I am unable to understand what this iron bar could have been; no traces of it are visible on the coffin, and the crutch staff thereon is part of the carving of the marble lid.

† "Sepultus honorifice in Ecclesia eadem in parte boreali juxta sepulcrum sancti Willelmi." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 180^b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 347. The window over the bishop's tomb is probably the *fenestram mediam ad sanctum Willelmum*, recorded as the gift of Hubert de Burgo in the list of benefactions. Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 91^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 124.

‡ The costs of the making of his tomb are entered in the executors' accounts (which were audited in May 1282) at Merton College, Oxford, and have been

that the tomb and its carriage from Limoges to Rochester cost £40 5s. 6d.; the masonry, *i.e.* the stonework of the canopy and the windows behind, cost £22; the ironwork, which came from London, cost 7 marks; and the glazing of the two windows 11s. Other expenses brought the total up to over £70, a large sum for those days, equal to at least £1600 at present value.

In 1598, probably because the tomb had been despoiled of its metal-work, a new monument was made at the cost of Merton College, Oxford, with two long epitaphs concerning its founder. In 1662 the tomb was again renewed by the College, on account of its having been *fanaticorum rabie deformatum atque fere deletum*, as a new epitaph stated. A good engraving of the tomb and canopy in their "restored" condition is given by Thorpe.* In 1852 the monument was again "restored" by destroying the tomb and displacing its effigy and protecting grate, and substituting for them the existing tomb and railing. The windows behind, which had been long blocked, were reopened and filled with hideous glass, and the canopy "Gothicized." The fragments of the old tomb are now, or were until quite lately, lying about in the crypt, but the alabaster figure of the bishop was placed in the recess west of the tomb and protected by the old grate. This recess was altered and deepened in the fifteenth century and a small window pierced in the back. Not unlikely the keeper of St. William's shrine had a seat and desk here.

printed, with divers errors, by Mr. Denne in Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense* (p. 193). They are more correctly given in a *Sketch of the Life of Walter de Merton*, by Edmund (Hobhouse), Bishop of Nelson (Oxford, 1859), p. 50, from which they are here reprinted:

xlii v ^a vij ^d	Liberat. Magistro Johanni Burgensi Limovicensi pro tumba domini Episcopi Roffensis. scilicet pro constructione et cariagio de Lymoges usque Roffam.
Et xlvj ^s viij ^d	Cuidam executori eunti apud Lymoges ad ordinandam et providendam constructionem dictæ tumbæ.
Et x ^s viij ^d	Cuidam garcioni eunti apud Lymoges querenti dictam tumbam constructam et ducenti eam cum dicto magistro usque Roffam.
Et xxij ^{li}	in maceoneria circa dictam tumbam defuncti.
Et vij marcas	in ferramento ejusdem et cariagio ejusdem a Londinio usque Roffam. et aliis parandis ad dictam tumbam (iv ^{li} xij ^s iv ^d).
Et xj ^s	Cuidam vitriario pro vitrio fenestrarum juxta tumbam domini episcopi apud Roffam.

Summa. lxx^{li} vij^s ij^d.

* *Custumale Roffense*, plate xlv.

The western side of the transept has, instead of the two arches of the south-east transept, one only, which opens into the quire aisle. The place of the other is occupied by a window, under which are a pointed arched recess and a doorway to the stair turret at the angle. About the end of the thirteenth century the sill of the recess was cut down and the back pierced with a small doorway to a new building on the outside, presently to be described.

As has before been stated, the north-east transept contained the tomb or shrine of St. William of Perth, the position of which in this part of the church is fixed, apart from other considerations, by the statement of bishop Walter of Merton's burial "beside the tomb of St. William." Its precise situation cannot now be determined, but not improbably it stood nearly in the centre of the transept, with the accustomed altar at its west end. The existence of this altar is indicated as early as 1341 by an ordinance of bishop Hamo of Hythe founding a chantry *ad altare juxta tumbam sancti Willelmi . . . ubi missa beate Marie virginis celebrare consuevit*.* The following entries will suffice to shew that the shrine was one of some importance at this date :

Wardrobe Account 28 Edward I. (1299—1300).

Oblaciones	xvii ^{jo} die ffebruarii in oblacionibus factis per	
Regis.	dominum Radulfum de Stanford ad fere-	
	trum Sancti Willelmi in ecclesia Prioratus	
	Roff' nomine Regis.†	vij ^s

Wardrobe Account of Queen Philippa, 1351-2.

Oblaciones	In oblacionibus Comitisse Ultonie factis ad fere-	
Comitisse	trum Sancti Willelmi in ecclesia conventuali	
Ultonie.	Roffens' per manus Johannis Priour ibidem	
	eadem die [15 June 1352].‡	xij ^d

Another fourteenth-century reference to the shrine is in the will, dated 1360, of bishop Thomas of Woldham: *Item lego operi tumbæ beati Willelmi decem marcas*.§

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there are

* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 548.

† Soc. Antiq. Lond. MS. 119, f. 32.

‡ *Ibid.* 208, f. 3.

§ Cott. MS. Faustina B. 5, f. 29; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 113.

many references to the shrine in the wills of Rochester citizens and other good folk, *e.g.* :

1474. Edmund Cherkey, gent. :

To the paynting of the Shryne of Seint William vij^l
vii^d. (P.C.C. Reg. 15 Wattys.)

1480. John Beale :

To sustⁿ of the ligh^t a bough^t seynt Will^ms Shryne.
(vi. 45.)

1493. Julyan Hickes, maid :

I bequeth to the schryne in the monastery of Seint
William in the sey^d abbey 20^d. (v. 211.)

1496. John Hilles of Strode :

Item lego fferetro Sancti Willelmi in ecclesia Cathedrali
Roffen. unam vaccam. (v. 277.)

1516. Jane Skipwith :

To Seynt Williams Ligh^t xij^d. (vii. 82.)

1523. Thomas Shemyng, draper :

To Saynt Williams chapell vj^s viij^d. (vii. 291.)

In the sacrist's accounts for 1512-13 is an entry recording the receipt of 31s. 5d. *de oblatione ad tumbam Sancti Willelmi et de Cista beate Marie*, and among the payments :

pro factura duarum fiolarum argenti ponderancium x uncas ex donacione computantis (Robert Pylton, sacrist) <i>ad altare</i> <i>Sancti Willelmi</i> et Sancte Ursule [et] Sancte Crucis	xij ^s
pro j peyre candelstykkis <i>pro Altare Sancti Willelmi</i>	iii ^j ^s
pro j candelabro <i>pro tumba Sancti Willelmi</i>	xijd

The only relic of the shrine that seems to have survived is a curious slab of Purbeck marble, which was until recent years laid upside down in the transept floor. The exact spot cannot unfortunately now be fixed. The stone was taken up by Sir G. Gilbert Scott and set up on posts in St. John Baptist's chapel, where it can be examined. In its present state it is 6 feet 1½ inches long, 2 feet 5½ inches wide, and 4 inches thick. One side and one end are moulded, but the slab is incomplete at the other end, and on the other side the moulding has been sawn off. At the complete end there start from each corner a pair of diverging chases, about 1½ inch wide, and extending towards one another, but not far enough to meet. At 5 feet 6 inches from the end are a similar pair of chases, starting

from the edge towards the medial line of the stone, but these again do not quite meet. These chases seem to be for upright slabs of stone, sustaining a canopied superstructure of some kind after the manner of the shrine of St. Alban, but if they were arranged symmetrically the stone must have been 11 feet long. This appears excessive, but it is not easy to suggest anything shorter. Its under side has three pairs of roughly incised markings to afford a key for the mortar of a series of pillars that supported the slab.* If the stone were 11 feet long there would have been ten such pillars. In default of further information the question of the size of the shrine, like that of its exact position, must remain unsolved for the present. From analogy with other shrines, that of St. William, with its altar, was probably enclosed by a grate.

On the south side of the transept there stood, until it was most improperly moved elsewhere by Sir G. Gilbert Scott,† the monument of bishop John Lowe, 1433—1467. It is a plain high tomb of stone, without any effigy, inscribed on a chamfer round the edge of the covering slab:

Miserere . deus . anime . fs† . Johannis . lowe . Episcopi |
Credo . videre . bona . domini . in . terra . vivencium . | Sancti
Andrea . et . Augustine . Orate . pro . nobis.

On the old east end are two blank shields. The long (north) side has a row of seven shields, of which six are inscribed:

ihc | est | amor | meus | deo | grās

and the last bears the bishop's arms: (*Argent*) on a bend (*azure*) three wolves' heads erased (*of the field*). On the old west end is an angel holding a large shield of the bishop's arms, with the curious addition in the sinister chief of a saltire (*gules*) charged with an escallop (*or*), the arms of the church. On the base of the tomb are scrolls bearing in ribbon black letter:

Quam . breve . spacium hec . mundi . gloria . ut . Umbra .
hominis . sunt . eius | gaudia.

* See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lxiv. part ii. (July—December 1794), 705, and plate iii. Fig. 4.

† It is now placed altarwise against the back of archdeacon Lee Warner's monument.

‡ *i.e.* fratris. John Lowe was an Austin Friar at Droitwich, and became prior of the Austin Friars of London before 1422.

The fourth side of the tomb is plain, on account of its having originally stood against the wall or screen that shut off the transept from the quire and presbytery.* The bishop's monument was placed here in accordance with a clause in his will, dated on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1463 :

Inprimis ut moris boni christiani lego animum meum deo salvatori et corpus meum deo salvatori et corpus meum sepeliendum coram ymagine aurata sancti Andree ex opposito sedis episcopalis in ecclesia mea Cathedrali de Rochestria ex parte boreali in choro in tumba aliquantum elevata ad expensas meas constructa et construenda.†

This tomb was thus an ancient landmark in the topography of the church, and its removal is therefore the more unjustifiable. Had not its original site fortunately been known we could not have located the position of the "golden image of St. Andrew," which would appear to have stood against the broad pier to the east. The reference to the *sedes episcopalis* is the only mediæval notice of it I have met with.

A small portion of the original tile paving of the transept remains almost exactly in the centre of the present floor.

Some excellent bits of sixteenth-century iron-work, with curiously wrought finials of different patterns, are preserved in the presbytery and north-east transept. A grate before John of Sheppey's tomb, removed hither by Mr. Cottingham from the north transept, bears his initials, and has finials in form of huge fleurs-de-lis. The fence and gate in the opposite arch has the uprights terminating in shields surmounted by a spiked ornament (Fig. 38), and the same

* See plan in Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, 174. Plates xlv. and xlvii. in the same work (p. 215) represent the side and ends of the tomb.

† P.C.C. Reg. Godyn (1463—1468), f. 263. He also made the following bequests to his cathedral church: "Item lego ecclesie mee Roffensi ad majorem securitatem eorum et noticiam aliorum quorumcumque non oporteat quod jam deliberati sunt eis monachis totam illam sectam rubiorum vestimentorum de panno aureo leonum et leporum cum xj capis et ceteris ejusdem secte preter sexaginta quatuor marcas quas eciam remisi et dedi eis quod deliberabantur michi de firma ecclesie de ffindesbery alias autem centum libras in quibus hodie michi de eadem firma tenentur non remitto eis sed retineo aut michi solvendas aut executoribus meis pro successore meo in parte solucionis implementorum meorum. Item lego eis pulcrum calicem meum cum historijs festorum Christi in pede et xij apostolis in patena operatis precij viginti duarum marcarum."

pattern occurs on the grate in St. John Baptist's chapel, which also has finials of elaborately twisted scrolls (FIG. 37). The old grate of Walter of Merton's tomb has large fleurs-de-lis terminals of curious design.

Mention was made above of a small doorway of early-

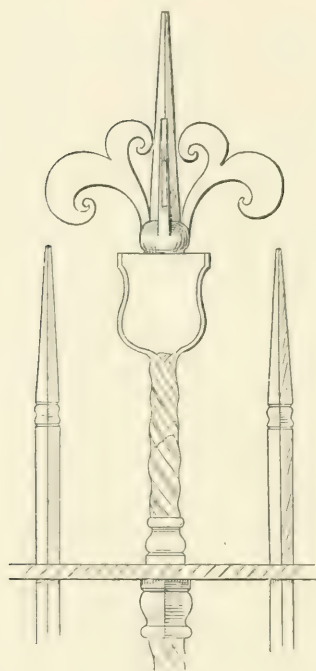


FIG. 38.—ORNAMENTAL IRONWORK
ON SOUTH SIDE OF PRESBYTERY.

(From a Drawing by Mr. J. T.
Irvine.)

Decorated date which has been cut through the back of a deep recess in the west wall of the transept. This doorway gave access to certain chambers between the transept and the old north tower that pertained to the sacrist and servants of the church. These chambers were at first of one story, but afterwards two stories in height, as may be seen from the corbels that carried the upper floor, which was reached by a door opening from the great turret stair at the angle of the transept. The chambers extended some distance beyond the turret to obtain light, and the angle of the lower story still remains there, with a transomed window, now blocked, of two trefoiled lights with a trefoil in the head. This domestic-looking window is contemporary with the canopy over the tomb of bishop John of Bradfield

(1278—1283.) The upper chamber had in its west wall, close to the quire aisle, a fireplace (now blocked) with a small oven beside it. As the Custumal mentions the monks *qui jacent assidue in ecclesia*,* it is very likely that these chambers were used by them and the two *famuli ecclesie*, whose duties are

* Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 31.

minutely set forth in the same document.* The site of these chambers is now entered by a modern door in the quire aisle wall, which is built within the arch of a much larger one. A little further west is a small doorway, now blocked, that gave access to a small open court between the chambers just described and the wax-house on the other side of the buttress.

The crypt, which extends beneath the whole of the presbytery, eastern transepts, and eastern half of the quire, is second in this country only to that at Canterbury in size and importance. (PLATE III.) Its general plan and arrangements are fully described in Professor Willis's note.† Unfortunately its interesting character has until lately been utterly overlooked by its custodians, and its more ancient part, that built by Gundulf, still has its central division partitioned off and filled up with the organ bellows. A strip under the south-eastern transept has also lately been similarly divided off and converted into a series of vestries. This part of the crypt is already partly blocked up with brickwork for the support of the fabric.

There are recesses in the crypt for seven altars, but only six are known. The dedications and historical notices of these are as follows :

1. St. Katherine :

Bishop Walter (1148—1182) gave “*casula que est cotidiana ad altare Sancte Katerine.*”

* Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 30, 31. At Durham “there was four men appointed to ringe the said bells at midnight, and at all such other times of the day as the Monkes went to serve God ; two of the said men apperteing to the vestrye, which allwayes kept the Copes with the Vestments, and five paire of silver Sensors, with all such goodly ornaments, perteing to the High Altar, which two men did lye everye night in a chamber over the west end of the said vestrye, and the other two men did lye everye night within the said church, in a chamber in the North allye, over against the Sexton's checker. These two men did alwayes sweepe and keepe the church cleanly, and did fill the Holy Water stones everye Sunday in the morninge with cleane water, before it came to be hallowed, and did lock in the church dores everye night.” *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 15), 19. At Durham the sexton's or sacrist's checker was in a similar position to this Rochester example, outside and against the north aisle of the presbytery. The sexton's “office was to se that there should nothing be lacking within the Churche, as to provyde bread and wyne for the Church, and to provide for wax and lyght in wynter. He had alwaies one tonn of wyne lyinge in the said checker, for the use of the sayd Church. Also his office was to se all the glass wyndowes repayred and mendid, and the plumbers wourke of the Churche, with mending of bells and belstrings, and all other workes that was necessary to be occupied, both with in the Church and with out the Church, and to se the Church to be clenely keapte.” *Ibid.* 81, 82.

† See *ante*, pp. 234-236.

Robert of Langridge "dedit calicem et casulam et alia plura *ad altare Sancte Katerine in criptis*."

Robert of Higham "dedit . . . fenestram *ad altare sancte Katerine* et tabulam depictam ante et aliam super altare," etc.*

Certain rents assigned to the altar *beate Katerine in criptis* are given in the Custumal.†

2. St. Mary Magdalene :

The rents assigned to this altar are stated in the Custumal.‡

The table of benefactions also records that Theoderic the monk "acquisivit de quadam muliere de Hallinges unde fenestra et casula et alba parata et alia plura *in criptis ad altare Sancte* [Marie] *Magdalene* facta sunt. Item acquisivit medietatem unius fenestre in criptis contra Aluredum cocum."‡

3. St. Michael. 4. Holy Trinity :

Heymeric of Tonbridge, monk, "*in criptis* fecit fenestram *ad altare sancti Michaelis et altare sancte Trinitatis*. Posuit eciam ad altare sancte Trinitatis calicem et vestimenta duplicia pannum quoque ad pendendum ante altare et alia plura."§

5. St. Edmund :

According to the list of benefactions, "Galfridus de Hadenham emit plures terras aput Darente. fecit *altare Sancti Edmundi in criptis* et dedit redditum ad dictum altare provenientem de Darente quia idem G. habuit Darente sicut Hadenham. Et quia in dispersione fuerunt aput Westmonasterium Rogerus de Sanford et Willelmus de Cornubia propter devocionem erga sanctum Edwardum predictum altare decoraverunt ornamentis et ibidem ymaginem sancti Edwardi statuerunt. Hac de causa omnia ornamenta et luminaria dicti altaris inveniri debent a fratribus ibidem celebrantibus et michi a sacristis."||

6. St. Denis :

John of Borstall, chaplain of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, by deed dated St. Edmund's day 21 Edward III. (9th October 1347). gave an annual rental of *1d. altari beati Dionisi in Criptis*.¶

* Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, ff. 88^b, 90^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121, 123. † Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 25.

‡ Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 91; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 124.

§ *Ibid.* f. 90^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 123.

|| *Ibid.* f. 92^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 125.

¶ Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 218.

It will be noticed that four of these altars are associated with the gifts of the windows beneath which they stood. A fifth window *in criptis* was given by Durand Wisdom, but not in connexion with any altar.*

To locate any of these altars is out of the question, but perhaps that which stood on the north side, beneath the altar of St. John Baptist in the upper church, may some day be identified by the remains of the painted decoration on the vault over it. Much of this unfortunately has fallen off with the plaster. Round the central point, where are the remains of an iron hook or ring for suspending a light, were four circular pictures, each 2 feet in diameter. One has gone; a second has a figure standing behind another, which is recumbent; and a third contains a woman seated and holding up both hands. Outside these pictures were eight larger ones, each 3 feet in diameter. Two of them are still fairly perfect. One represents a monk (?) sitting in the stern of a single-masted ship, with a bearded man seated or standing in front of him. In another a tall nimbed figure is standing in the centre, with his left hand pointing to a dark recess with open door, and with his right touching the kneeling figure of a bearded man. Of the remainder, several are gone and the others utterly defaced. Below the large pictures the angles of each compartment are filled with painted shields of arms, each 2 feet high and 20 inches across the top. Two at the north-west angle bear respectively: (i) Quarterly, 1 and 4, *Or*, a lion rampant double-tailed *gules* (the field is also either *fretty gules*, or covered with a red fretty diaper); 2 and 3, *Sable*, a lion rampant double-tailed *argent*; and (ii) *Or*, an eagle displayed *sable* (with a fretty diaper). Those at the south-west corner are (iii) perhaps three lions of England on a field *gules*, within a *bordure argent*; and (iv) *Argent*, a cross *gules*. The cross is very narrow, and the field beautifully diapered. The pair (v and vi) at the south-east corner are defaced. Of those on the north-east, one (vii) bears *Or*, three chevrons; the other (viii) is destroyed. The deep semi-

* "Durandus Wisdom dedit . . . unam fenestram in fronte versus majus altare et aliam in criptis." Cott. MS. *Vespasian A. 22*, f. 91^b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 123.

circular archway on the west has also been entirely covered with pictures. These were painted in rows, and evidently represented a series of scenes in a wood, the trees of which alone are now visible, though parts of faces and figures may here and there be made out.* All the painting seems to be of the beginning of the fourteenth-century date, or perhaps earlier, and to the same time belong the three-light windows that have been inserted to light the altar and that in the next compartment. The heraldry promises to afford a clue to the exact date and other information, but beyond the arms of St. George in (iv), of the Emperor of Germany in (ii), and possibly of bishop Walter of Merton or a De Clare in (vii), the bearings of the shields cannot be identified with certainty. A similar series of pictures in circles once ornamented the compartment of the vault immediately before the southernmost of the three altars at the east front of the crypt, but only the ghost of them can now be seen in a favourable light.

In the vault beneath the chapter-room are deposited a large number of carved and moulded architectural fragments, some of considerable beauty and interest, that have been found from time to time at successive "restorations."† There are also in the crypt some good monumental slabs and casements of brasses brought down from the upper church. One great slab bears the indent of a head and hands which were once inlaid with white stone, while the rest of the design was probably formed of incised lines, as is so often seen in some parts of France and Belgium. The whole surface is however worn so smooth that not a vestige of these is now visible.

The Account of the Monastic Buildings will appear in the next Volume.

* These pictures may have represented the martyrdom of St. Edmund the King, the finding of his body in the wood, the wolf guarding his head, and other scenes, but they cannot be connected with the paintings on the vault.

† Until quite lately these were scattered about the crypt, but have now been reduced to some kind of order by the care of Mr. George Payne, F.S.A. They have yet to be sorted and labelled, before all record of them is forgotten.

OLD SEVENOAKS.*

BY GEORGE F. CARNELL, F.R.H.S.

I HAVE been asked by the Hon. Secretary to prepare a Paper upon the changes which have taken place in the town chiefly within my own memory of upwards of sixty-three years. I will therefore take my audience on an imaginary ramble, commencing at the southern end of the town, down High Street and London Road to the South-Eastern Railway Station, then back to the junction of the two principal streets, taking in the Middle Row, and afterwards from the High Street to St. John's. Starting from the Sole Fields at the extreme south of the town, where the battle between Jack Cade and the Royalists was fought on 24th June 1449, the beautiful estate now called Park Grange, formerly Sevenoaks Park, breaks upon our view, where stood the stone-built mansion of the Lambarde family, which was removed about half a century ago. Its noble avenue of oaks extending to the Common still remains.

Entering the town itself, we have on the left Oak End the residence of the Misses Northey, the front of which was entirely remodelled about fifty years ago; on the right the Grammar School and Almshouses; and opposite the Grammar School is Oak Lane, at the bottom of which are the Flow Fields, where formerly was a sheet of water on which I have often skated. In winter time the water flowed between the steep banks on either side, but the place is now occupied by a mound formed of earth thrown up from the tunnel of the South-Eastern Railway.

Returning to the town, observe the quaint old house jutting out into the street and overhanging the footpath

* Read at the Annual Meeting of the Kent Archaeological Society at Sevenoaks on 27th July 1897.

just beyond Oak Terrace. I have not been able to find any date upon it, but it is probably one of the oldest in the town.

Sevenoaks Church and its monuments have been lucidly and interestingly dilated upon in the description from the pen of our Rector which we have heard read to-day. I will only remark that the absence of monuments to the owners of Knole is no doubt to be accounted for by the fact of their family place of sepulture being at Withyham.

A short distance further on, just beyond a very awkward bend in the street, there used to stand the "Old Curiosity Shop," kept by the late Mr. John Hooper—an authority in his day on old books, paintings, furniture, china, and works of art and vertu. Few persons came to Sevenoaks without going to see his collection and have a chat with the worthy proprietor. Opposite is Six Bells Lane. In the slanting roofs of the back of the houses, in the High Street at the top of this lane, are some curious attic windows, one above the other, after the style of continental towns. Further on, opposite the "Bricklayers' Arms Inn," formerly stood some old houses with rooms on the ground floor some feet below the surface of the street, the upstairs rooms being attics, from the windows of which it would have been easy to shake hands with passers-by on the pavement. Further on is the White House, formerly the residence of Mr. Charles Willard, Clerk of the Peace for Kent, with its fluted columns and many windows. Next to the grocer's shop (Mr. Russell's) stood a butcher's shop with a landway on the northern side. These have given place to the avenue leading to the delightful residence of our churchwarden, Mr. Laurie. Next is the house and shop of Mr. Outram, leather-seller, said to have been formerly the property or residence of Archbishop Morton from 1486 to 1500. In the front may be noticed some oak carvings, and within there is a stone fire-place with the arms of the Archbishop, as well as more oak carving and panellings and very thick oak beams. Below is the Oddfellows' Hall, formerly called the Coffee House or Old Assembly Rooms, where the County Balls were held. Opposite stands the "Chequers' Inn," from which used to

start at 8 A.M. the Sevenoaks coach —“The United Friends” — Peacock, coachman, who bore a striking resemblance to Mr. Tony Weller, immortalized by Dickens. Between the Oddfellows’ Hall and the “Crown Hotel,” some forty years ago, stood an ancient inn called “The Wheatsheaf,” with its tea-gardens and skittle-ground. North of the “Crown,” where the Granville Road commences, was a block of shops with a builder’s yard at the back, and then an alley, malodorous and pestilential, called Brand’s Lane, which formed the outlet to the Crown Fields and Kippington. Sixty years ago the fields now occupied by South Park, the Granville, Argyle, and Gordon Roads, and the lands adjacent, were called Covell’s Farm, and used by the late Mr. William Covell. In the field on Tubs Hill, where is now Eardley Road, a few years ago stood a windmill, a picturesque feature in the landscape. The mill-house still remains.

Returning to the junction of the London and Dartford Roads, opposite the old post-office there was formerly a pond called the Cage Pond, with a belt of trees round it. There, in years long gone by, was a ducking-stool, a mode of punishment now happily obsolete, used upon such of the fair sex as were convicted of being common scolds, these by the wisdom of our ancestors being deemed a public nuisance. Opposite, in front of the present Coffee Tavern, was a weighbridge, with a toll-house attached, where heavy vehicles paid toll.

Now for the Middle Row. The square between Mr. Philpot’s shop and Mr. Ellman’s was formerly called the Butter Market. Close by, at the corner of Mr. Salmon’s Library, within the present century there stood on fair days (12th and 13th October) male and female servants waiting to be hired. Between High Street and the London Road were the shambles, with their labyrinthine passages and many openings into both streets; part was called the fish shambles and part the flesh shambles. Some remains of these are still traceable. In Dorset Street, in front of the shop of Mr. Pearce, fishmonger, may be seen the date 1605. The King’s head over this was put there recently by a former owner. The ground floor of the old Market House, now used by the Y.M.C.A., was formerly open and used as a

public thoroughfare, as well as occasionally by butchers and other tradesmen. It is possible that in a building which stood on the same spot the assizes were formerly held. From "A Topographie or Survey of the County of Kent, by Richard Kilburnie of Hawkerst, 1659," it appears that assizes were held at Sevenoaks as follows, viz.: before Justice Gawdy and Baron Clerk, 22nd February 1587; Baron Clerk and Queen's Sergeant Puckering, 25th February 1590; Justices Gawdy and Kingsmill, Monday in the first week in Lent, 1600; and before Justice Bacon and Sergeant Crossfield, 5th August 1647 and 5th September 1648.

On the 1st July 1837 Our Most Gracious Majesty was proclaimed Queen in the town of Sevenoaks by my late father Thomas Carnell, who was also the Society's first Hon. Local Secretary for the Sevenoaks District.

In the centre of the road, opposite 130 High Street, was formerly a well, now arched over. I have heard that there was a tree on each side of it, north and south. There was a pump attached to the well against the wall of Bligh's Family Hotel. This last is an ancient building. On making some alteration a few years since a girder was discovered bearing the date 1206, but this was unfortunately removed and has been lost. Opposite to this stood Suffolk House, formerly the residence of the Dukes of Suffolk. The mansion, which faced south, was taken down about 1820, and the terrace called Suffolk Place erected near its site. I have heard that what is now Messrs. Smith's brewery was formerly the stables to the mansion; on it appear the initials "H. F., 1724," referring to Sir Hy. Fermor of Kippington, a former owner. Close by, until recently, stood the Veterinary Hospital of the late Mr. John Ashton. At the back was a barn, now pulled down, which was occasionally used for theatrical purposes. Here, at an early period of his career, the great Edmund Kean is said to have performed. The paddock of Knole formed the grounds attached to Suffolk House. The land where the Constitutional Club now stands, and the public Pleasure Grounds, I remember covered with larch trees, which gave a romantic appearance to that entrance to the town.

The Old Vine Cricket Club, in the days of a former Duke of Dorset, used to send a powerful eleven into the field. The club was revived in 1848, and still flourishes. Below was Vine Court, now pulled down. It stood in its own paddock, and forty years ago a high-class ladies' school was carried on there. Some of the houses, where the five roads divide, were formerly used as barracks, whence the name Barrack Corner.

The Congregational Church and the houses on each side of St. John's Road occupy the site of a house, now pulled down, with grounds attached. This and the neighbouring lands were formerly called Gallows Common, from the execution-place of criminals being near the top of Bradbourne Road.

On St. John's Hill (west side), formerly called Workhouse Hill, stood the Union Workhouse, pulled down about 1846. A short distance to the north is the mansion of Greatness, near which stood the curious silk mills, the ruins of which still remain. They were for many years carried on by the late Mr. Peter Nouaille, a name always dear to Sevenoaks. His daughter, at an advanced age, is still living at St. John's Lodge.*

I have now endeavoured to sketch the changes which have taken place in the town during the last sixty years. In place of the post-chaises and four of the times of our grandfathers, the numerous fast coaches which passed through daily in the days of our fathers, and the circuitous railway journey *via* Tonbridge and Red Hill of our own earlier days, we have now a first-class railway station at each of the northern ends of our town, and Sevenoaks, lying on the direct route from London to Paris, is on the high road to the World. So "the old order changeth; yielding place to new."

* Miss Anne Nouaille died 25th November 1897.—G. F. C.

RUSHENDEN.

BY JOHN COPLAND.

I HAVE recently purchased Danley Farm in the parish of Minster in Sheppey from the Master, Brethren, and Sisters, acting as the Chapter of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katherine.

The agreement for purchase provided that the title should be "the grant by John of Gaunt and others, dated 4th February 16th Richard 2nd (1392-3), of the Manor of Ryshynden and certain other lands in the Isle of Sheppey," and the only title I have is such Grant. I have inspected the original, and append a copy of same in extended Latin, and the translation.

The Royal Hospital of St. Katherine was one of the few that escaped suppression at the Reformation. Her Majesty the Queen is the Patron of the Hospital, and her consent had to be given to the sale.

I send the following as a curiosity in the matter of length and also shortness of title, for there have been no dealings other than leases by the Chapter of St. Katherine's with the property in the meantime.

GRANT BY JOHN OF GAUNT AND OTHERS, 4TH FEBRUARY
16TH RICHARD II. (1392-3).

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel
auditis Johannes Dux Aquitanie et
Lancastrie [Johannes] permissione di-
vina Episcopus Lincolnensis et Hen-
ricus eadem permissione Episcopus
Wyzorniensis Salutem in domino sem-
piternam Cum Johannes Kent teneat
Manerium de Ryshynden in Insula
de Shepeye cum pertinentiis ac unum
mesuagium sexaginta acras terre du-
centas acras pasture centum et viginti
acras marisci salsi et tres solidatas et
octodenaratas redditus cum pertinentiis

To all who shall see or hear this
writing John Duke of Aquitaine and
Lancaster [John] by divine permission
Bishop of Lincoln and Henry by the
same permission Bishop of Worcester
greeting in the Lord everlasting
Whereas John Kent holds the manor
of Ryshynden in the Isle of Sheppey
with the appurtenances and one mes-
suage sixty acres of land 200 acres of
pasture 120 acres of salt marsh and
three shillings and eight pence of rent
with the appurtenances in the parish

in parochia de Mynstre ad vitam suam ex dimissione nostra ac Johannis de Ispre militis et Nicholai Carreu jam defunctorum que quidem manerium messuagium terram pasturam mariscum et redditum ac alia dominia terras et tenementa nos et alii nuper habuimus ex dono et feoffamento celebris memorie domini Edwardi nuper regis Anglie et Francie jam defuncti sicut per diversas cartas suas nobis inde confectas plenius poterit apparere Noveritis nos per hoc presens scriptum nostrum concessisse quod manerium messuagium terra pastura mariscus et redditus predicta cum pertinentiis que post mortem predicti Johannis Kent ad nos et heredes nostros reverti deberent post mortem ejusdem Johannis Kent remaneant dilectis nobis in Christo Magistro et Fratribus ac Sororibus Hospitalis Sancte Katherine juxta Turrim Londoniensem Habendum et tenendum eidem Magistro et Fratribus ac Sororibus et successoribus suis ad inveniendum unum capellanum ultra numerum Fratrum et capellanorum in eodem Hospitali jam existentium divina pro anima predicti nuper Regis ac anima celebris memorie domine Philippe nuper Regine Anglie Consortis sue necnon pro bono statu excellentissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri domini Ricardi Regis Anglie et Francie moderni illustris ac serenissime domine nostre Regine Consortis sue ac pro bono statu nostro prefati Ducis dum vixerimus et pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus celebraturum ac etiam ad obitus predictorum nuper Regis et Regine ac obitum nostrum prefati Ducis post decessum nostrum in ecclesia Hospitalis predicti singulis annis imperpetuum celebrandos Concessimus etiam et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris tenore presentium prefatis Magistro et Fratribus ac Sororibus quod ipsi et successores sui predicti predicta manerium messuagium terram pasturam mariscum et redditum cum pertinentiis post mortem predicti Johannis Kent ingredi possint Habendum et tenendum eidem Magistro et Fratribus ac Sororibus et successoribus suis predictis ad inveniendum capellanum predictum divina pro statu et animabus predictis celebraturum ac ad obitus predictos in eadem ecclesia singulis annis in forma predicta celebrandos imperpetuum statuto de

of Minster for his life by the lease of us and Sir John de Ispre knight and Nicholas Carreu now deceased with the said manor messuage land pasture marsh and rent and other lordships lands and tenements we and others lately had of the gift and feoffment of the Lord Edward of illustrious memory late King of England and France now deceased as by divers his charters made to us thereof may more fully appear Know ye that we by this our present writing have granted that the manor messuage land pasture marsh and rents aforesaid with the appurtenances which after the death of the aforesaid John Kent ought to revert to us and our heirs may remain after the death of the same John Kent unto our beloved in Christ the Master and Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. Katharine near the Tower of London To have and to hold to the same Master and Brethren and Sisters and their successors to find a Chaplain beyond the number of Brethren and chaplains now being in the same Hospital to celebrate divine services for the soul of the aforesaid late King and the soul of the Lady Philippa of illustrious memory late Queen of England his Consort and also for the good estate of our most excellent Prince and Lord in Christ the Lord Richard the now illustrious King of England and France and of our Most serene Lady the Queen his Consort and for the good estate of us the aforesaid Duke whilst we are living and for our souls when we shall have departed from this life And also to celebrate the obits of the aforesaid late King and Queen and the obit of us the aforesaid Duke after our decease every year for ever in the Church of the Hospital aforesaid Also we have granted and given licence for us and our heirs by the tenour of these presents to the aforesaid Master and Brethren and Sisters that they and their successors may enter the aforesaid manor messuage land pasture marsh and rent with the appurtenances after the death of the aforesaid John Kent To have and to hold to the same Master Brethren and Sisters and their successors aforesaid to find the chaplain aforesaid to celebrate divine services for the estate and souls aforesaid and to celebrate the obits aforesaid every year in the same church in form aforesaid for ever the statute for not

terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis ac alia quacunque causa nos vel heredes nostros tangente non obstantibus Salvis semper et reservatis capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum servitia sibi inde debitis et consuetis In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti carte nostre sigilla nostra apposimus Hiis testibus Thoma Percy Johanne de Eynecourt Willielmo Par et Ricardo atte Lese militibus Magistro Willielmo de Asheton decano ecclesie collegiate Sancti Martini Magni Londoniensis Willielmo Symme de Horsham Willielmo Makenade et aliis Datum apud Castrum nostrum prefati Ducis de Hertford die [Martis] quarto die Februarii anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi sexto decimo.

putting lands and tenements in mortmain and any other cause whatsoever touching us or our heirs notwithstanding Saving always and reserved to the chief lords of those fees the services therefor to them due and accustomed In testimony whereof to this our present charter we have set our seals These being witnesses Thomas Percy John d'Eynecourt William Par and Richard Attelesse Knights Master William de Asheton Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin the Great London William Symme of Horsham William Makenade and others Given at the Castle of Hertford of us the aforesaid Duke on [Tuesday] the 4th day of February in the 16th year of the reign of King Richard the 2nd.

Endorsed: A Grant of Rhyshenden by John Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Worcester.

RICHARD LOVELACE AND BETHERSDEN.

BY JAMES ROBERTS BROWN, F.R.G.S.

THE name of Richard Lovelace has an especial interest to all lovers of Kentish history, and the following transcript of an Indenture in my collection relating to property at Bethersden seems quite worthy of a place in *Archæologia Cantiana*. The biographical details of the cavalier Poet are now so well known from the article by Thomas Seecombe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that there is no need to repeat them here; but it may be well to point out that the date of the Deed corresponds with the misfortunes of Lovelace, and that the property therein-named passed to the same Richard Hulse who in 1649 purchased the Lovelace-Bethersden estates. (Hasted.)

As there is no signature of Lovelace in the collections of the British Museum, it has been thought advisable to give it in facsimile:—

To all Xxian people to whome this pre'te writinge shall come Richard Lovelace of Bethersden in the Countie of Kent Esq^r sendeth greetinge Whereas by Indenture bearing date wth these p'nts made by the said Richard Lovelace of the one p'te and Richard Hulse of greate Charte in the said Countie gent of the other p'te purportinge that the said Richard Lovelace for the consideration therein ment'oned Hath given graunted aliened bargayned sold enfeofed and confirmed unto the said Richard Hulse his heires and assignes All that his Messuage or te'nt Barne and Outhouses thereunto belonginge And also all his landes meadowes pastures and arrable lyeing in Halden in the said Countie of Kent, conteyninge Threescore acres more or lesse Togeather wth a p'cell of Woodland called Bottenden Wood al's Barr Bottenden conteynninge Twentie ffeve acres more or lesse situat in Bethersden aforesaid in the said Countie of Kent as in and by the said Indenture more plainly appeareth Nowe this

Writing Witnesseth That the saide Richard Lovelace for divers good causes and Considerations him thereunto movinge Hath constituted ordeyned appointed and in his place and stead hath putt And by theis p'nts doth constitute ordeyne appointe and in his place and stead doth putt Isaac Hunte of Bethersden aforesaid yeoman his true and lawfull Attorney for him and in his name place and stead to enter and take possession of the said Messuage and landes and all and singuler the penises in and by the said recited Indenture ment'oned to be given and graunted as aforesaid and after such entrie & possession thereof or of any p'te thereof in the name of the whole soe had and taken full & peaceable possession state & seizen of the same to deliver to the said Richard Hulse according to the tenor purporte intent and true meaninge of the said recited Indenture Ratifyeinge and confirminge all & whatsoever the said Isaac Hunte shall doe or cause to be done touchinge or concerninge the premisses as fully whollie and effectuellie as if the said Richard Lovelace were then and there p'rsonallie p'nte and did the same In Witnes whereof the said Richard Lovelace hath hereunto sett his hand and seale this Twentieth daie of March In the Nyneteenth yeare of the Raigne of o'r sov'aigne Lord Charles by the grace of god kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defender of the ffaith. Annoq' d'ni 1643.



Signed Richard Lovelace, and sealed with an oval seal (the impression of which is now obliterated).

Endorsed, "Bethersden 1643."

NOTE ON "RELICS OF PAINTING IN
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL."

BY THOMAS B. BLACKMAN.

IN the volume of *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXII., is an article entitled "Relics of Decorative Painting now or formerly in Canterbury Cathedral," by the late Canon Scott Robertson, who gives an account of a "Painting on Wood of the Murder of Becket at the foot [really head] of the tomb of King Henry IV. (ob. 1413)."

The Canon says "forty-three years ago Captain George Austin, junior, made a careful sketch of this panel-painting, and from that sketch we have been permitted to reproduce the annexed illustration." Now there are people who have known the Cathedral for more than forty-three years, during which period it is in their recollection that this panel-painting of the murder of the Archbishop has always been in much the same defaced and obliterated state as now. Clearly, therefore, this sketch made by Captain George Austin cannot have been taken from the original painting at the head of Henry IV.'s tomb. If not, where from? I have before me a coloured engraving of "The Murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1170. Engrav'd by J. Carter from his restor'd drawing of the defac'd parts of the original Painting on board, hung against the columnes at the head of the tomb of Henry IV. in Canterbury Cathedral, copied by him in its present state from a former drawing, both of which are now in the possession of R^d Bull, Esq^r. Pub^d as the act directs by J. Carter, Wood St., West^r, July 1^t, 1786." As Captain George Austin's sketch and this engraving of J. Carter's differ only in slight details and in colour, the former must have been made from this plate, which can be found in Carter's *Ancient Sculpture and Painting in England*, 2 vols., folio, published 1780—1787; and I think it due to the memory of a well-known artist and careful delineator of our ancient monuments and paintings that these facts should be known, especially as the mistake has appeared in the pages of *Archæologia Cantiana*.

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